FBIS DAILY REPORT

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BLOC FORCES CONTINUE 'SOYUZ-81' EXERCISE

30 March Activities

LD301546 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1446 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Berlin 30 Mar (ADN)--Operations by the staff and troops of the GDR National People's Army (NVA), alongside the fraternal armies taking part in the command and staff exercise Soyuz-81, regrouped their forces on Monday, preparing to annihilate the assumed aggressor.

The aim of the staff preparations was to make a surprise attack on the "enemy" from directions he was not expecting and annihilate him, using close cooperation among motorized infantry, tanks, missile units and artillery, backed up by combat helicopters and flying units.

In an NVA command post, Col Gen Horst Stechbarth, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the army, confirmed a corresponding decision.

At sea, combat operations by naval and naval air forces of the NVA People's Navy, the Polish naval fleet and the USSR Baltic Fleet were also continued with in the framework of a naval operation.

ADN Report on Planning

LD302100 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1345 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Berlin, 30 Mar (Report by ADN special correspondent Peter Beinze)--At the Soyuz-81 maneuver today we are visiting a command post of the GDR National People's Army. Maj Gen Manfred Graetz reports his decision to Col Gen Horst Stechbarth, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the army. It provides for the regrouping of forces in order to attack and annihilate the assumed enemy by surprise strikes from directions he does not expect.

The decision is based on thorough calculations and reports by the chiefs of the armed services. All tasks in organizing the battle were resolved with great expertise and in the shortest possible time despite the complicated conditions. The major general precisely organizes coordination in terms of place, time and task. He determines the movement, sectors and order of the deployment of units from the route order to the preliminary battle order and battle order. Antiaircraft missile troops, air forces and other air defense provide cover for the units. The time and place for the emplacement of guns, missile troops and artillery, as well as the methods of fighting the enemy with artillery fire, are specified. Major General Graetz formulates the tasks of the units to provide mutual support to crush the enemy and develop a high rate of attack.

Colonel General Stechbarth slightly amplifies the decision on two points and confirms it. He expresses the expectation that the staffs and troops will fulfill, with high quality and within the time ordered, their assignment in the central sector of the GDR in close cooperation with their Soviet comrades in arms.

12TH BCP CONGRESS OPENS, BEGINS ACTIVITIES 31 MAR

AU310752 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgaria at 0700 GMT on 31 March carries a live relay of the opening of the 12th BCP Congress from the "Sofia" Palace of Culture in Sofia. At 0700 GMT party and state leaders enter the hall, enthusiastically greeted by those present. Todor Zhivkov opens the congress, giving the number of delegates attending the congress. He then mentions a long list of names of Bulgarian and foreign prominent figures who have died since the 11th BCP Congress in 1976. In this connection, he calls on the congress to observe a moment of silence devoted to their memory.

Following this, the leading organs of the congress are unanimously elected, and Zhivkov asks the members of the Working Presidium to take their places.

At 0710 GMT Tsola Dragoycheva announces that 126 delegates from 108 countries are attending the congress, and congratulates all the delegates and particularly the CPSU delegation led by Vladimir Shcherbitskiy. Afterward. she also proposes the election of drafting and credentials commissions, as well as the approval the agenda and the program of the congress--all these are unanimously adopted. At 0723 GMT she gives the floor to Todor Zhivkov, who begins his speech.

At 0803 GMT, Zhivkov stops speaking, not yet having finished his report.

At 0804 GMT Tsola Dragoycheva, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee, who is identified as chairing the opening session, proposes a recess of 30 minutes. The live relay from the Palace of Culture is interrupted and the program switches back to the studio. An announcer reports that Zhivkov will resume his main report after the recess. The announcer identifies the following leaders as present in the working Presidium: Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Ivan Mikhaylov, Lyudmila Zhivkova, Ognyan Doynov, Peko Takov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov and Petur Tanchev.

After a 34-minutes recess, the live relay from the Palace of Culture on the first session of the 12th BCP Congress is resumed. Todor Zhivkov reads the second portion of his main report, dealing with foreign policy. Zhivkov ends his speech, and the live relay ends, at 1050 GMT.

BTA Report of Zhivkov Speech

AU310935 Sofia BTA in English 0805 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Report on speech by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, to the 12th BCP Congress delivered in Sofia on 31 March 1981]

[Text] Sofia, 31 Mar (BTA)--"Five years have elapsed since the Eleventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Today, from the rostrum of the twelfth congress, we can declare: These years have been fruitful: years of hard work and creativity, of daring and persistence. Years in which our people, led by its party, has made a major stride forward in the construction of a developed socialist society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria," said Mr Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the CC of the BCP, who read the report of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

He underlined that the 12th congress is called in the year of the 1300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state, of the 90th anniversary of the party, of the 25th anniversary of the historic April plenary session of the CC of the BCP.

Mr Todor Zhivkov said that in the last 5 years the national income has increased over two fold, the capital investments reached 52 milliard leva and the capital funds also grew over two times.

He underlined the particular significance of the achievements of the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1976-1980). The national income produced in the past five-year period exceeded with 24 milliard leva the national income produced in the Sixth Five-Year Period and the growth was achieved through raising labor productivity. The capital funds introduced in the Seventh Five-Year Plan exceed with about 9 milliar leva the funds introduced in the former 5-year period.

"The increased economic potential, the positive changes in the structure of production and the active participation in the international division of labor turned into a solid basis for the implementation of the party's program for raising the people's living standard," stressed Mr Zhivkov.

Mr Todor Zhivkov spoke further of the accelerated converging and fusing the two forms of socialist ownership the state and the cooperative, of the improvement of relations of distribution, of achieving social homogeneity of the Bulgarian society, of unfolding socialist democracy.

He stressed that in the last decade elements of mature socialism have been formed in economy, in culture and in the socialist way of life.

Mr Zhivkov analyzed the most significant problems of the socio-economic development of Bulgaria and the work of the BCP in the current 5-year period.

Dwelling on the key trends and problems in economic policy, the speaker stressed: "The CC of the BCP proposes that the 12th congress of the party will approve the following main socio-economic task of the Eighth 5-Year Plan: to continue the line of comprehensive satisfaction of the constantly growing material, spiritual and social needs of the people on the basis of intensification of the national economy, consistent application of the new economic approach and its mechanism and further perfection of socialist social relations."

One of the most acute world problems, which is problem No One for our country linked directly with intensification of the national economy, is to provide it with energy and raw material resources and to use them most rationally, said Mr Todor Zhivkov. He pointed out that the relative proportion of electricity generated by the atomic power stations will have reached about 26 percent by 1985 and about 40 percent by 1990. Already in the eighth 5-year period Bulgaria should switch over to all-round and in-depth use of raw materials by employing wasteless and low-waste technologies. The speaker assessed as urgent the problem of increasing the production of local raw materials, as well as the utilization of waste materials.

Mr Todor Zhivkov underlined, too, the necessity of making still greater efforts to expand and diversify the production of high quality goods for the people. He assessed the solving of this task as a primary duty of all branch industries and enterprises, irrespective of their specific production.

The party leader pointed out that industry will retain its leading role in the development of the economic complex. Mechanical engineering has been entrusted with some particularly responsible tasks. Its output is planned to mark a 50 to 55 percent increase. The speaker noted that important tasks, too, are to be solved in the field of chemical industry, whose production will have to increase by about 50 percent by 1985.

Setting forth the trends for development of Bulgarian agriculture, Mr Todor Zhivkov underlined that its first topical task is to generally solve the grain problem and to accelerate the development of livestock breeding. He specified that the average annual production of cereal and fodder grain by the end of the eighth 5-year period should reach 10.5 to 11 million tons.

Mr Zhivkov spoke further of Bulgaria's foreign economic ties, of her participation in the international division of labor. Noting that international economic integration is a powerful factor for achieving intensification of economy, he stressed that in the eighth 5-year period the foreign trade growth should overtake significantly the growth rates of the national income.

As the major task in the social policy of Bulgaria Mr Todor Zhivkov defined the further guaranteeing and extending the social security of all members of society. Society will be gradually shouldering the increasing portion of the support of the rising generation and will create conditions to combine the best of the maternal duties of women with their participation in labor and public activity. The lowest pension is envisaged to reach half the minimum pay in Bulgaria.

Considerable means will continue to be channelled out into health care: for prophylaxis, for updating the existing material base, for modern medical equipment.

Mr Todor Zhivkov dwelt further on the role of science and education for the general intensification of economy. The pending task is to transfer industrially the scientific achievements on a contemporary level, to introduce in practice top techno-scientific developments, to use to the maximum the techno-scientific achievements of the other countries, the speaker noted further.

He assessed the achievements in the development of culture. Mr Todor Zhivkov emphasized that the Central Committee regards the period under review as particularly fruitful for the flourishing of socialist culture in Bulgaria.

Stressing that Bulgarian culture will continue to maintain in the future active contacts with the cultures of other peoples, the speaker pointed out that the primary thing is to translate on a still wider scale the process of bringing closer the Bulgarian and the Soviet culture in every aspect, to expand the mutual cultural enlightment of the socialist countries.

In the section dealing with the improvement of the political system and the further expansion of socialist democracy, Mr Zhivkov said: "One of the basic trends in the work of the party during the period under review was the consolidation, development and further improvement of the political system, the unfolding of socialist democracy. Under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party all bodies and units of the people's power intensified and enriched their activity. The supreme bodies and the local people's councils adopted new forms of strengthening their direct links with the people."

Noting that the Bulgarian political system guarantees equal opportunities for each working man, the party leader underlined that whoever works better receives higher remuneration and social acknowledgement. He said that there could be hardly anything better, more socialist and more democratic than industrial and agricultural workers with ministerial pay.

Mr Todor Zhivkov spoke on the question of information of the masses and of studying their opinion.

It is necessary to make a new step forward in the policy of cadres for our political system, a sphere in which Bulgaria has great successes, the speaker went on further. He added that special attention and care are necessary to select and train executives from the ranks of nonparty members. There are thousands of people in Bulgaria which in their view on life and morality could be called nonparty member communists and many of them belong to the most educated and businesslike circles of society. The door for such people to management bodies should be opened still wider, said Mr Zhivkov.

The Bulgarian Agrarian Union occupies an important place in the socialist political system in this country. Over the period under review the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, as always before, worked in complete understanding and cooperation in resolving the tasks of advanced socialism, joining their efforts at peace in the world. The Bulgarian Communist Party regards its relations of solidarity and unity in action with the Bulgarian agrarian party as exceptionally important for the development and for the functioning of the political system, Mr T. Zhivkov stressed in his report.

The Bulgarian Communist Party has always treated the work of the Bulgarian trade unions with great attention and consideration. They are entrusted with important social functions, which, in general outlines, they have been carrying out successfully, said Mr Zhivkov. The trade unions should develop and enlarge their role as organizer and leader of the emulation and the efforts of the workers, as a defender of the interests of the working individual and the working team.

"The complicated international situation compels us to devote continuous care for strengthening the country's defense power, to increase the combat readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army and to improve the work of the bodies of the Ministry of the Interior," said Mr Todor Zhivkov. The Bulgarian People's Army has grown up as a modern armed force with sophisticated military equipment, with high fighting skill and indestructible morale.

"The Bulgarian servicemen in serried ranks with the servicemen of the invincible Soviet army and the armies of the other socialist member-countries of the Warsaw Treaty, stand a staunch and faithful guard of their countries' frontiers, of the conquests of socialism and the peaceful work of the people", said Mr Todor Zhivkov.

Outlining the tasks of ideological work in the next period, Mr Zhivkov stressed the necessity of improving the propaganda work of Marxism-Leninism, of its modern acquisitions, the need to follow closely and elucidate international developments, against the background of which, the well-argumented and intransigent struggle against bourgeois propaganda, against any deviations, to the right or to the left, from Marxism-Leninism in both theory and practice remains a task number one.

In the section dealing with the development of the international situation and the foreign political activity of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Mr Todor Zhivkov recalled the concrete initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, which have become a positive factor for the assertion of peace. "Along with this," he said, "the question of peace is increasingly becoming a problem and a matter of concern of peoples themselves."

Reporting on the successes of the policy and soberminded approach demonstrated by a number of high-ranking political officials of the capitalist states and their contribution to the settlement of international problems today cannot but receive a positive assessment. He added that no blind eyes should be turned to the stepped up activity of bellicose circles in the United States, to the barriers put up before the negotiations of disarmament, and detente in the military sphere, neither can the damage done by the Chinese hegemonic policy be overlooked.

The speaker condemned the imperialist attempts at total offensive against real socialism, at isolating the Soviet Union from the other countries and peoples. History, he said, "has shown it that no talks from the position of force are possible with the Soviet Union."

Further on the party leader spoke about the special role China plays in the imperialist attempts at revenge. Pointing to the complex and contradictory processes having taken place over recent years in China, he said: "We will welcome every positive change in China and we are ready to develop further our interstate relations with the People's Republic of China. We have faith in the future of the Chinese people, in the positive role which they can play again in our common struggle for the triumph of the communist ideal."

Speaking about the foreign political course followed by the Bulgarian Communist Party and Bulgaria, Mr Todor Zhivkov said: "All efforts of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Bulgaria in the international arena were directed at developing the process of detente, at strengthening world peace and creating favorable international conditions for building mature socialism in the country."

Stressing that in its foreign political activity the Bulgarian Communist Party pays great attention to strengthening the solidarity and the unity of the socialist community, he said: "Our freedom and independence, our all-round development are most closely linked with the destiny of the countries fraternal to us--our loyal and selfless friends. We are doing and shall be doing our level best for the strengthening of our political and defence alliance--the Warsaw Treaty organization."

"Guided by the principles of socialist internationalism" Mr Todor Zhivkov went on, "we extend our fraternal solidarity and support to the Polish United Workers' Party and to all true Polish patriots. We express our profound conviction that the party of the Polish communists and the Polish people will resolutely rebuff the internal and international reaction, that they will lead Poland out of the crisis and will ensure the further successful socialist development of the Polish People's Republic."

A cornerstone in our work in the period under review was the all-round strengthening of fraternal relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with the Soviet state, said the speaker.

Dwelling on the situation in the Balkans, Mr Todor Zhivkov noted with satisfaction that under the present complicated international sitaution, there is relative calm in this region. Pointing to the substantial contribution made by the principled and consistent Bulgarian policy to the achievement of great progress in relations between the Balkan states, Mr Zhivkov surveyed separately Bulgaria's relations with each of the Balkan countries.

Successful is the all-round development of relations with Romania.

"Our relations with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are making headway, although they have not as yet reached the level befitting relations between two neighbouring socialist countries. We are optimistic about their future and irrespective of certain difficulties we are working patiently and consistently for the development of lasting and broad goodneighborly cooperation in all spheres of life," said Mr Todor Zhivkov.

Bulgaria is making efforts at complete normalization and further development of her relations with Albania, he went on.

Mr Zhivkov expressed satisfaction with the progress in relations with Greece, with the well developing ties with Turkey.

Mr Todor Zhivkov spoke also about Bulgaria's active relations with the capitalist states resting on the principles of peaceful coexistence, about the progress in her relations with the developing countries. He expressed the Bulgarian view on the Iran-Iraq conflict: to put an end to the war and to solve controversial issues at the table of negotiations. The speaker spoke in support of Mr Leonid Brezhnev's proposal to convene an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all countries concerned. A high evaluation was given to the movement of the nonaligned.

Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed that Bulgaria was rendering sustained support to the people of Afghanistan, expressing solidarity with the fraternal international aid rendered to Afghanistan by the Soviet Union at the request of the Afghan Government.

He said that the further expansion and deepening of the relations of all-round cooperation of the Bulgarian Communist Party with the fraternal communist and workers' parties is one of the basic trends along which the work of the party will proceed.

More Zhivkov on Balkans

AU311007 Sofia BTA in English 0920 GMT 31 Mar 81

["Todor Zhivkov on the Relations With Balkan Countries"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 31 Mar (BTA)--In the report of the Central Committee, delivered by Mr Todor Zhivkov at the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, an analysis is made also of the relations of Bulgaria and the other Balkan states.

As a Balkan state, the People's Republic of Bulgaria quite naturally attaches exceptional importance to the situation in the Balkans and to the development of relations with the neighboring countries, Mr Todor Zhivkov emphasizes. We can note with satisfaction that even in the current complicated international setup, the situation in the Balkans is relatively calm. Positive changes have been realized by common efforts, important progress has been made in the mutual relations of the Balkan countries. This is a great achievement of our peoples.

A substantial contribution to this has been made by the principled and consistent policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, a policy of peace and understanding, of friendship and cooperation, a sincere, honest and constructive policy not seeking any ad hoc advantages or cheap prestige, pursued with a sense of responsibility for the present and future of the peoples in the region. This policy has earned the recognition both of the broad masses of the people and of the ruling circles in neighboring and faraway countries.

Our all-round relations with the Socialist Republic of Romania are developing successfully. These are relations between two fraternal states--members of the Warsaw Treaty and of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, linked with a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance.

Our relations with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are making headway. Although they have not as yet reached the level befitting relations between two neighboring socialist countries, we are optimistic about their future and irrespective of certain difficulties we are working patiently and consistently for the development of lasting and broad goodneighborly cooperation in all spheres. Raising relations between our socialist countries to a new height is fully in keeping with the interests both of the Bulgarian people and of the Yugoslav peoples.

We are working for the complete normalization and further development of relations with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on the basis of mutual respect, equality and mutual advantage.

We are satisfied with the progress made in our relations with the Republic of Greece. They have continued to develop actively in a spirit of goodneighborliness and amity. Our ties with the Republic of Turkey, too, continue to develop well. We are convinced that the further strengthening of the climate of confidence with our southern neighbors will open up fresh possibilities of expanding and deepening mutually beneficial cooperation in different areas, which, in turn, will contribute to peace and the well-being of our peoples.

Our ties with the Republic of Cyprus are developing in a spirit of friendship and mutual advantage. The People's Republic of Bulgaria invariably stands in favor of a peaceful and just settlement of the Cyprus issue in the interest of the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots, preserving the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the republic.

When we assess positively the political climate in the Balkans we are far from wishing to idealize matters. The Balkans are a part of Europe, a part of the world, and it is perfectly clear that the general state of international relations exerts and will continue to exert a direct influence on the atmosphere in the region. The complex contradictions of our time are present here, too. Peace, understanding and cooperation are clearly not to the liking of certain imperialist and reactionary circles which are trying to destabilize the situation, to rekindle national enmities and distrust among the Balkan peoples. It is not the interests of the Balkan peoples but foreign interests that are served by the stockpiling of nuclear and other arms, the existence of foreign bases and troops, the searching of the past to rake up facts which are intended to oppose us.

The Balkan peoples know from their own experience that they can expect nothing good from such actions. We believe that they will not let themselves be deceived, they will foil the attempts to give back to the peninsula the sad notoriety of the past. We also believe that the responsible factors will show statesmanlike wisdom and foresight in order to guarantee peace and calm on the peninsula.

By signing the Final Act of Helsinki, Bulgaria and its neighbors accepted the post-Second World War relations of security and cooperation. The Balkan peoples, like all other peoples in Europe and the world, need such relations because they serve the cause of peace and social progress.

Therefore:

Mindful of the lessons of history, we consider that efforts should be made for the steady improvement of the climate of trust in the region.

We again declare our readiness to follow the path charted in Helsinki, so that the Balkans may turn into a stable region of detente.

In accordance with the principles of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, we are ready to sign bilateral agreements with the neighboring countries, which would include a code of goodneighborly relations, renunciation of territorial claims, not allowing the use of the territory of the parties to the agreement for purposes and actions hostile to one another.

We are in favor of a further expansion and deepening of bilateral cooperation in the sphere of the economy, tourism, science, culture, education and sports, which is to give even more abundant fruit for each country, contribute to the mutual acquaintance of our peoples and be a factor for strengthening peace and security on the peninsula.

Having in mind that the Balkan Peninsula is situated on the road between Europe, Asia and Africa, we are in favor of developing cooperation in the sphere of transport and communications, which will be in the interest of many countries and peoples.

We are ready to continue cooperating with the other Balkan countries on a multilateral basis on matters of mutual interest in those specific areas in which agreements have already been reached.

From this rostrum let us once again clearly state that through its foreign policy in the Balkans, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to do everything necessary for the establishment of peace and understanding, of trust and friendship, for the promotion of cooperation with all Balkan countries and peoples.

Congress Agenda

AU311135 Sofia BTA in English 0936 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Text] Sofia, 31 Mar (BTA)—The 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, which was opened here this morning by Mr Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, will review the report of the Central Committee on the work of the party in the period after the 11th congress (1976), will discuss and approve the theses for the socio-economic and cultural development of Bulgaria in the seventh 5-year period and for the tasks in the eighth 5-year period and up to the year 1990. The congress will review also a report of the central control-auditing commission of the Bulgarian Communist Party. It will elect central executive bodies of the party. There will be discussions on some proposals for changes in the party statute prompted by the ascending trend of development of the Bulgarian society.

Besides in plenary sessions, the congress will work in five sections: party, political, organizational and ideological work of the party; economic policy; the problems of science, education and culture; the activity of state bodies and the mass organizations; foreign policy and international relations of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The congress is attended by 1,658 delegates, representing more than 800,000 Bulgarian communists.

Guests of the party forum are the members of the Standing Committee of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, led by the secretary of the union, Mr Petur Tanchev, as well as BCP veterans, frontrankers in labor, prominent scientists and public figures, responsible party and state workers.

Some 126 delegations of communist, workers', national democratic, socialist and other parties and movements from 108 countries arrived to take part in the congress.

The party forum is called in an atmosphere of unity and cohension in the party and the people, between the party and the people, in an atmosphere of stable ascending development of the country. The forum was preceded by nationwide debates of the draft theses in which over 2.7 million working people took part. The discussion was an eloquent expression of the complete approval of the people to the party policy.

The first morning session of the congress is chairmed by Mrs Tsola Dragoycheva, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP. She gave the floor to Mr Todor Zhivkov to read the BCP report.

Mikhaylov at Press Conference

AU301050 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] A press conference is taking place today for the foreign correspondents accredited to the 12th BCP Congress at the international press center in Sofia. Stoyan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary, is speaking on the essence, character and results of the party's April plenum policy.

[Begin recording]: Within 25 years, during which the April plenum policy of our party has been implemented, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has become a radically changed country. Our country's economy has radically changed, our towns and villages have been transformed, our roads have also changed; the socialist way of life has been created and asserted itself and an entirely new intellectual atmosphere has developed. The socialist personality has become the overwhelming characteristic feature of individuals in our country. Our country already has loyal and reliable friends and is enjoying a great international prestige. [end recording].

MORE DELEGATIONS ARRIVE TO ATTEND CONGRESS

Grabski Leads Poles

LD311046 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Excerpts] The 12th BCP Congress opened its debates in Sofia this morning. The Polish delegation is led by Tadeusz Grabski, Politburo member and secretary of the party Central Committee.

Soviets Arrive

AU301430 Sofia BTA in English 1354 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Sofia, 30 Mar (BTA)--Today the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, led by Mr Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, member of the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, arrived here at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The delegation will take part in the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The delegation includes also Mr Mikhail Zimyanin, secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Mr Ivan Morozov, member of the CC of the CPSU and first secretary of the county committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr Nikolay Suslov, member of the CC of the CPSU and second secretary of the Leningrad Committee of the CPSU and Nikita Tolubeyev, member of the CC of the CPSU and ambassador of the Soviet Union to Bulgaria.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1430 GMT on 30 Mar broadcasts a similar report which adds at this point: "At Sofia airport the delegation was greeted by Comrades Aleksandur Lilov; Grisha Filipov; Ivan Mikhaylov; Ognyan Doynov; Peko Takov; Tsola Dragoycheva; Dimitur Stanishev; Georgi Atanasov; [name indistinct]; BCP Central Committee department heads and members of the USSR Embassy in Sofia."]

Zhivkov Receives Shcherbitskiy

AU301919 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Sofia, 30 Mar (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, received the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, led by Mr Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, member of the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU and first secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. On behalf of the Politburo and the Secretariat of the CC of the BCP Mr Todor Zhivkov thanked the CC of the CPSU for the participation with such a prestigious delegation in the work of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Mr Vladimir Shcherbitskiy conveyed the greetings of Mr Leonid Brezhnev and his wishes for successful work to the congress of Bulgarian communists.

During the talks questions pertaining to the further expansion, deepening and strengthening of cooperation and for bringing closer in all spheres of life the BCP and the CPSU, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union and the peoples of the two fraternal countries, were discussed. The meeting proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and exceptional friendliness.

Hager Heads GDR Group

LD310426 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1609 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Sofia, 30 Mar (ADN)--At the invitation of the BCP Central Committee, an SED Central Committee delegation arrived in Sofia on Monday to attend the 12th BCP Congress. The delegation, led by Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, was cordially welcomed at Sofia Airport by Lyudmila Zhivkova, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee, and other dignitaries. The 12th BCP Congress begins its work in Sofia on Tuesday.

Yugoslav Delegation Arrives

LD310404 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1301 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Sofia, 30 Mar (TANJUG)--The LCY delegation to the 12th BCP Congress arrived in Sofia today. The delegation is led by Svetozar Durutovic, executive secretary in the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and includes Mirko Vidakovic, member of the LCY Central Committee, and Danilo Puric, Yugoslavia's ambassador to Sofia.

More Delegates Listed

AU301602 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 2030 GMT on 29 March, reports the arrival of the following delegations to the 12th BCP Congress:

The Labor party of Jamaica led by Rupert Lewis, member of the party Central Committee;
The Lebanese Communist Party led by Niqula al-Shawi, chairman of the party;
The Progressive and Democratic Party of Lebanon [as heard] led by the party deputy chairman (Perek Shakhat);
The Communist Party of Egypt led by Michel Kamal, member of the party Central Committee Politburo;
The Socialist Party of Yemen led by Abdallah Ahmad al-Khamiri, candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary;
The PLO led by Majid abu Sharar, member of the Al-Fatah Central Council;
The Swedish Left Party--Communists, led by Lars Werner, chairman of the party;
The Swedish Labor Party--Communists, led by Rolf Hagel, chairman of the party;
The Korean Workers Party led by Pak Song-chol, member of the party Politburo and DPRK vice president.

Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1000 GMT on 30 March reports the arrival of the following foreign delegations:

The Greek Communist Party led by its Secretary General Charilaos Florakis;
The MPLA Labor Party led by Juliao Mateus Paulo, member of the party Politburo and Cental Committee secretary;
The SWAPO led by David Meroro, SWAPO national chairman;
The Liberation Party of Sao Tome and Principe led by (Tomas da Costa) member of the movement's Coordination Council Politburo;
The Nigerian Socialist Labor party, led by (Uafat Butlage), member of the Central Committee Politburo.

SANDINISTA DELEGATION LEADER RUIZ INTERVIEWED

AU301925 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 30 Mar 81

["Nicaragua Will Defend its Gains"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 30 Mar (BTA)--The people of Nicaragua are resolutely determined to defend their revolutionary gains from the encroachments of internal and international reactionary circles, said Mr Henry Ruiz, member of the national leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, at a press conference in Sofia.

Mr Henry Ruiz, who leads the delegation of the Sandinista front to the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party due to open here tomorrow, condemned the adventurist policy of the United States in Latin America, which by aiding and abetting the fascist regimes are seeking to convert this part of the world into a new Vietnam.

The Sandinista leader cited numerous facts testifying to the attempts of the Reagan administration at thwarting the construction of new life in Nicaragua through both financial and economic measures and through threats of open aggression. Miami, as well as the territory of Honduras, Guatemala and some other Latin American states, he said, are places to which weapons and military specialists are sent and counter-revolutionary gangs and troops are trained for attacks against countries like Nicaragua, which in the opinion of American rulers are "exporting revolution."

Nicaragua conducts a non-aligned, anti-imperialist and anti-racist foreign policy, said Mr Henry Ruiz. She [Nicaragua] is against the interference into the internal affairs of other nations and she wishes to live in peace and understanding with her neighbors and with all nations in the world, the people of the United States included. We need peace now when he have to get the country out of military destruction, said the Nicaraguan figure.

Making journalists familiar with the complex economic problems in Nicaragua, Mr Henry Ruiz said that in spite of enormous difficulties, the economy of the country is gradually returning to normal. The grain production has been revived and so has been the manufacture of some industrial products, such as machines and equipment. In a short period of time 120,000 jobless were employed. Measures are being taken to do away with illiteracy, to improve the health care network, etc. "Our struggle at present is not easier than at the front line, but we are convinced that we shall win it" said Mr Henry Ruiz.

Mrs Monica Baltodano, secretary of the Sandinista Front on organizational matters, who is also in the delegation of the Sandinista Front to the 12th Congress of the BCP, told journalists about the participation of Nicaraguan women in the revolutionary reforms in the county.

OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON ECONOMY BY CPCZ DAILY

AU271808 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Mar 81 p 6

[Oldrich Zabojnik Sofia dispatch: "Bulgaria Prior To the 12th BCP Congress; Good Results--More Complicated Tasks"; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpt] Bulgaria is devoting extraordinary ATTENTION TO THE--NOW ALREADY IMPERATIVE--IMPROVEMENT OF MANAGEMENT STYLE AND METHODS, WHICH IS ONE OF THE CONDITIONS FOR A FAST TRANSITION TO INTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT.

They Learn From Friends' Experience

Replying to a RUDE PRAVO correspondent [name of interviewer and date and place of interview not specified] who asked about how the production sphere is accepting the substantially more complicated tasks, Chavdar Zheliazov, section head in the committee for the new management system attached to the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic [BPR], said that the workers accept them with greater understanding than certain management workers, who are rather hesitant about them. They realize that it is a system revealing their weak places and strengthening the significance of personal responsibility. At the same time the crux of the matter lies to the fullest extent in completely ensuring not only the production but also the sales. Zheliazov remarked that those who will prove no longer capable of executing a leading function will be transferred to other work, with an appropriate notation in their personal evaluation file. He further said that BULGARIA IS ATTENTIVELY FOLLOWING THE ECONOMIC EXPERIENCE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. It is following the method of organizing the socialist market in Hungary, the approaches to raising the effectiveness of exports and the forms of the professional training of cadres in Czechoslovakia, the functioning of industrial combines in the GDR, and so forth. Bulgaria does not mechanically take over any of these, however, without taking into account its own specific conditions. Throughout the entire chain [of office]--from top to bottom and also along horizontal lines, it has been decided in Bulgaria to ABOLISH "ALL BUREAUCRATIC AND DUPLICATED SUBDIVISIONS WHICH DO NOT FULFILL MANAGERIAL FUNCTIONS AND ARE NOT CONNECTED WITH ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN THE REPRODUCTION PROCESS." With the working people's broad participation, all these problems were being assessed with the utmost frankness and a most critical attitude these several months, in the precongress discussion in RABOTNICHESKO DELO and in other Bulgarian communications media.

CTK REPORTS REAGAN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT

LD302146 Prague CTK in English 2102 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] New York, 30 Mar (CETEKA)--An attempt on the life of President Ronald Reagan was made in Washington today. The assailant, who was arrested, fired four shots when the President was leaving the Hilton Hotel. According to the reports, he was not hit. White House press spokesman James Brady, a Secret Service agent and a policeman were wounded.

COMMENTATORS SCORE U.S. 'INTERFERENCE' IN POLAND

Reagan Remarks 'Worst'

LD301805 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Petr Nemec commentary]

[Text] During the day we have informed you about the latest declarations by U.S. President Ronald Reagan on the situation in Poland. The U.S. President, with the full weight of his office behind him, in an interview with the Washington POST stated his concern at the situation in Poland and warned its government not to take any firm steps in connection with the dangerous situation. This is no more than the worst possible form of interference in the affairs of a sovereign state.

That is how Reagan's words have been understood and appraised. The Polish Government has objected most resolutely to such recommendations. Reagan's so-called concern has been received with concern also in Western Europe, at least in those circles which, in the words of the West German chancellor, know that any destabilization of Poland would lead to an immediate destabilization of Europe and in its consequences, not only of Europe. And this is precisely a fact which throws a different light on the statement by the U.S. President and confirms its true meaning.

Let us take a look at its timing: Reagan's warning to the Polish Government comes at a time when the so-called Independent Trade Union Solidarity is advocating unconcealed political objectives, when it is working toward political insecurity in the country, when on the basis of its leaders' activities the trade union organization is changing into an opposition and a destructive political organization. Its demands are nonsensical and dangerous.

I will confirm this with a quotation from the West Berlin daily DER TAGESSPIEGEL. Let me point out that this is my no means a paper favorably inclined toward socialism. The paper's correspondent writes from Warsaw: The circles around the readers of POLYTIKA agree that the latest demands of Solidarity no longer have anything to do with common sense.

Moreover, Reagan's statement was published at a time when the PZPR Central Committee at its ninth plenary session quite openly noted that the economic situation in the country was catastrophic, that all further strikes would lead to the complete collapse of supplies and the entire economy. Can one, in the circumstances, speak of the sincere concern of the U.S. President? Isn't rather a case of adding fuel to the fire, direct support of the destructive antisocialist forces, a speculation about possible changes in the political system of Poland?

But such speculations are unrealistic, and this is known even to people who are not favorably inclined toward socialist Poland. Various slanderous warnings from the White House must in the true sense of the word be understood as a dangerous, cynical game.

It is clear today that President Reagan's administration has set out on a course of escalating international tension and record arms budgets.

The worse the world situation and the greater the insecurity, the easier the White House will find it to convince the electorate that the arms spending, unparalleled in U.S. history, is necessary and imperative. This is a dangerous and cynical game in the worst sense of the word. It is not only Poland which is at stake. And Reagan, too, has to realize that a solution to the bad situation in Poland will be decided in Warsaw and not in Washington.

Antisocialist Threats

LD301816 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Radio analyst Vaclav Kvasnicka commentary]

[Text] Discussing the latest events in Poland, Radio Prague's analyst Vaclav Kvasnicka says today that the situation is becoming exceptionally critical with counterrevolutionary elements within Solidarity openly rallying their forces. An 18-hour Central Committee meeting of Poland's United Workers' Party ended early on Monday morning. Addressing this meeting, Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the party's Central Committee, said Solidarity has launched an open struggle against our party, against the state leadership and against socialism. This already is a power struggle. End of quotation.

The leaders of the Walesa-headed Solidarity unions, adds our analyst, have thus decided in favor of final hazard. They are relying on the possibility that in the course of strikes at industrial plants and institutions they will succeed in ousting their present leaders and take over the management of these plants and institutions. Through this step, counter-revolutionary elements within Solidarity are out to completely isolate the leadership from the management of key economic and social organizations. At the same time antisocialist forces within Solidarity launched a fierce campaign against the public security forces and militia aimed at paralyzing their action readiness. Apparently the leaders of the Walesa-headed trade unions are determined to reach their objectives at all costs. They think that by constantly pressuring the Government of Poland they will enforce further concessions. That they will eventually discredit the government and strip it of its power, they are calculating with an open measuring of strength, an open clash even at the risk of a nationwide tragedy, at the risk of terrible bloodshed.

Counterrevolutionary elements within Solidarity are acting in coordination with influential circles in the West. This is confirmed above all by the attitude of the U.S. Government. According to news reports from Washington, the Reagan administration is in a constant state of alert, and a State Department spokesman said the administration is closely following and analyzing the situation in Poland.

Over the past few hours a number of U.S. representatives have commented on this situation. What they have said amounts to gross interference in Poland's internal affairs and is aimed at creating optimum conditions for counterrevolutionary forces in Poland in putting into effect their antisocialist intentions, which today are not disguised any more. Yesterday President Reagan appealed to the Government of Poland to take no steps in connection with the present situation in the country. Secretary of State General Alexander Haig uttered threats against the Soviet Union, saying that if it decides to assist Poland this would have unforseeable consequences for East-West relations and would bury any hope of a Soviet-American dialogue. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger even went as far as saying that possible assistance by Warsaw Pact countries would have its military repercussions because--as he put it--the West would feel threatened by this assistance. Senator Charles Percy heading the Foreign Relations Committee, even used China as a threat against the Soviet Union, saying that if the Soviet Union renders military assistance to Poland the United States will give China aggressive military hardware.

These threats are meant to deter the Polish Government and prevent socialist countries from rendering international assistance. They are to create favorable conditions for the power struggle waged by counterrevolutionary forces in Poland, this struggle being in the center of interest both among Poland's antisocialist forces and foreign imperialist circles.

In this connection the Polish Army paper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI wrote: Those who think they can oust socialism are completely mistaken. Together with all honest people in Poland we shall defend socialism, we shall defend our country's independence.

POLISH SOLIDARITY STRIKE DEVELOPMENTS CRITICIZED

'Playing With Fire'

AU302032 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 27 March on page 7 carries a 900-word report on the situation in Poland by its correspondents J. Lipavsky and P. Minarik, headlined "Playing With Fire Continues."

The report says that while Poland on 26 March waited for the resumption of talks between the government committee for trade union affairs and a Solidarity delegation "in an atmosphere of increasing tension," some Western television crews waited the whole day in front of Polish Government offices and "worried Polish mothers for hours lined up in front of food stores." Nervousness was increasing throughout the country, and "in such an atmosphere there is no lack of panicky reflections and various slandering of the party and state functionaries."

The report goes on to accuse Solidarity organizations of "pouring oil on the fire" by posting on factory entrances "fabricated 'eyewitness' evidence" of the "recent events" in Bydgoszcz and instructing Solidarity members on procedure to follow during a general strike, as if the general strike was a foregone conclusion. But there also was some opposition among the working people and even some Solidarity members to such "psychological preparation for the general strike."

The Lipavsky-Minarik report then cites figures showing declining industrial production in February, published in the Polish press on 26 March and adds that shops are lacking "practically all basic foodstuffs."

The report briefly summarizes an interview given by Rakowski to PAP on 25 March on the talks conducted with Solidarity. It also summarizes an article by RUDE PRAVO special correspondent Karol Mikulka, which says that 2 days ago young toughs from Solidarity beat up 50-year old "G.L." only because he dared to say that it is time to put an end to heckling and start working, and mentions an incendiary article recently published in SOLIDARITY newspaper, which literally says "90 days means 90 gallows for PZPR representatives. And after 90 days? Keep going!" According to Mikulka, all day long loudspeakers in the Solidarity building in Katowice are blaring "remarks full of hatred against everything that has to do with socialism."

PZPR's Siwak Gives Views

AU301400 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Mar 81 p 7

[Jan Lipavsky, Pavol Minarik Warsaw dispatch: "'It Is Time To Establish Order'; interview with A. Siwak, member of the PZPR Central Committee"--quote does not appear in text]

[Text] When the sirens hooted in some Warsaw enterprises at 0800, groups of well-built young men with red and white bands on their sleeves--"Solidarity's" order-enforcing units--took their place at the factory gates. It was a sad sight to see those young men full of strength idle while their mothers and wives were standing in endless lines for bread....An even more depressing sight was presented by the Warsaw streets. City and suburban public transportation came to a halt. It was as though the capital of the Polish People's Republic was lying in agony.

For some leaders of "Solidarity," however, this day was a festive occasion. In the name of national colors they drove millions into a 4-hour so-called warning strike.

But not everyone, as we were able to note, let himself be manipulated or intimidated by the strike organizers. Next to appeals calling for a boycott of work and production we were also able to read at some places in Warsaw slogans such as: Those who strike ruin their homeland; We will strike, we shall starve; Let us not be carried away by Solidarity's force!

Reports to the effect that in a number of enterprises and factories Friday 27 March did not turn out exactly well for "Solidarity" also leaked from other Polish cities. Quite a number of people preferred working to staging a senseless strike. It was not difficult for them to realize that the strike will aggravate even more the already ailing supplies....

At the construction site of a housing settlement in the Grochov District [of Warsaw] we saw that between 0800 and 1200 work continued normally, at a time when the workers were supposed to be on strike. One of the foremen told us that out of the 60 people in his stretch only 6 were sitting around and not working. At the other stretches the situation was similar, even though--as some employees confided to us--for a number of days activists of the "Solidarity" Mazowsze were employing all kinds of means to exert psychological influence on them. Some even threatened that the bricklayers or tradesmen would lose their jobs if they turned up for their shift on 27 March.

Albin Siwak, member of the PZPR Central Committee and leader of a collective of bricklayers, is also working at the construction site of the Grochow housing settlement. We asked him:

[Question] How do you assess the present situation in the country from the viewpoint of workers, with whom--as we know--you have been working for 3 decades?

[Answer] The economic situation is literally tragic and the political one very dangerous. We are at the brink of a national catastrophe. However, not everyone understands that and not everyone wants to believe and understand that, deplorably...and others do not see that they are being publicly manipulated.

[Question] Who is manipulating whom?

[Answer] The leadership of Solidarity is manipulating the broad strata of our working people.

[Question] Have all "Solidarity" members working with you complied with the appeal to strike today?

[Answer] No. A considerable part ignored the appeal.

[Question] Does that mean that they refused to obey their leaders?

[Answer] You can put it that way. And I have to add that they are not afraid. There is an evident conflict between rank-and-file Solidarity members and their leaders, and that is not the case at our housing settlement alone.

[Question] Wherein does the conflict lie, in your view?

[Answer] People are simply sick of the adventures and want to work in peace at last. When Solidarity leaders call for strikes, an ever increasing number of people in our country are asking--why? After all, all social matters have already been settled, so why should we strike?

[Question] What are "Solidarity's" aims?

[Answer] Some leaders are out to overthrow the socialist system. And it is good, as I am able to observe and note when visiting basic party organizations, that more and more working people realize that.

[Question] We know that you spoke at the last session of the party's Central Committee in a similar way. And we also know that immediately thereafter you came under the fire of "Solidarity" leaders, the target of which you remain.

[Answer] If it were only a matter of fire. But, on top of that, they are spreading gross slander and have trumped up all kinds of things about me, to publicly vilify and intimidate me.

[Question] Aren't you afraid?

[Answer] I am not alone. Even some Solidarity members working at our project are behind me. But to be honest, I am afraid. Not for myself but for my family. Because they are capable of anything....

This was an encounter with one of the present Polish worlds [svet]. The other world we encountered the same day in the Ursus tractor factory, which is now the seat of the strike headquarters of the Mazowsze, that means Warsaw, "Solidarity." And there, as could be expected, we came across A. Michnik and J. Kuron, leaders of the anti-state KOR organization. They advised on how to proceed up to a general strike and far beyond it. L. Walesa was also on hand.

When Michnik heard that we dared to enter the headquarters, he came running and resolutely declared that he would not talk with us. We did not even have such an intention. We only wanted someone from the "Solidarity" leadership to tell us L. Walesa's position on the course of the 4-hour warning strike. A spokesman, Mr B. Jagodzinski, confided to us that in Walesa's words the strike was "the last battle" and that "there will not by any" general strike. Furthermore, we heard that the government was given chances but did not seize them. And, of course, that "the government must sack a few people who stand in the way of renewal."

"Solidarity" would also like to see people "with imagination" in the government. It was easy for us to guess what kind of imagination it should be.

And what are the results of the strike, we asked Mr Jagodzinski.

As far as I know people were literally rushing into the strike, he said, adding that "the nation wanted action and now it has got it." It has allegedly eased tension among the people!

And what about the general strike, we kept asking. How are you getting ready for it?

It goes without saying that we all are in a state of alert. But not only Walesa but all who believe that there will not be any general strike on Tuesday because the government will finally reach an agreement with us. If not on Friday then on Saturday.

And what if it does not reach an agreement with you? Then the whole of Poland will be standing still.

PRACE COMPARES OFFICIAL POLISH TU'S, SOLIDARITY

Branch TU Gains

AU301329 Prague PRACE in Czech 27 Mar 81 p 2

[J. Hromadko article: "For Real Interests of the Working People"]

[Excerpts] Poland continues experiencing a complex period. After great convulsions, the country has embarked upon the path of socialist renewal, as attested to by the program of W. Jaruzelski's new government. It is a program aimed at stabilization, strengthening the state and consolidating the social and economic situation. This program has been receiving an ever increasing support from that part of the public which is already tired of unrest and strikes delaying a positive solution to problems.

Among the working people the influence of those trade unions which carry on the more than 100-years-old-traditions of the Polish revolutionary trade union movement is growing ever more markedly. Here belong the branch trade unions with their statewide coordination commission that represents them externally (navenek). They underwent a difficult test: From "Solidarity's" side there were quite a few attempts to push them into the background--to liquidate them. However, they found enough trust among the masses of working people who refused to accept the political adventurism of some of the "Solidarity" leaders. The branch trade unions are a class organization of working people, an organization which identifies itself with the PZPR's leading role in society and truly defends the interests of the workers class. They resolutely reject the false concept of trade union independence, based on refusing responsibility for the interests of society as a whole.

The position of the branch trade unions is increasingly improving. This is manifested especially by the return of those who last year--for various reasons--left the branch trade unions. At present, 22 branch trade unions already have about 8 million working people. On the other hand, "Solidarity"--as even the Western press admits—is gradually losing members. Many are already disenchanted with its eternal extremist actions, tired of the politicking which prevails in "Solidarity" to the detriment of the real interests of the working people. Also, the latest events in the country show that "Solidarity" orients its activity toward provoking conflicts and tension.

The branch trade unions are actively devoting themselves to problems of people working in enterprises, submitting initiatives whose purpose is not to gain cheap popularity, but a real improvement in working people's living and working conditions. It is inconspicuous, everyday work, which--at first glance--does not seem very effective, but it is the more useful to society.

Class trade unions, whose nucleus is composed of experienced trade union stewards [duvernici] and good workers, have a principled attitude toward the government program and adapt their demands to the country's economic reality in order not to deepen its critical state still further. This is an approach of managers who love their socialist fatherland, who are ready to carry coresponsibility for production tasks and who strive for the working people to actively join in management [rizeni]; that they build and not tear down, as "Solidarity" has thus far been doing in many places. In short--they are against such "representation of the working people's interests," which leads only to a seeming improvement of their situation, to wages increased on paper only, without being covered by an increased production of goods.

Representatives of the class trade unions in the Polish People's Republic do not conceal their view that the process of socialist renewal in the country is and will be difficult and complicated. But already now it is possible to say that thanks to the endeavors of their members, the branch trade unions are in a situation that they can approach the realization of their program in an offensive manner. Their prestige is growing not only in Poland, but also abroad, because--as the talks with K. Hoffmann, chairman of the [CSSR's] Central Council of Trade Unions, confirmed—their place is at the side of all progressive trade union centers, associated in the WFTU.

'Solidarity' Leaders 'Cynical'

AU301318 Prague PRACE in Czech 27 Mar 81 p 2

[FS-signed article in the column "On the Margin of the Day"; "'Solidarity's' Cynicism"]

[Text] For a number of months now, L. Walesa and other representatives of the Polish "Solidarity" have been posing as "defenders" of the interests of the Polish working people. In their interest they allegedly have been putting forward ultimatums which upset the endeavors of the Polish Government to resolve grave economic problems.

In the pursuit of their disruptive practices they are making appeals to all possible parties and seeking the support of imperialist forces, to whom the interests of Poland are alien and which welcome that country's difficulties, because--in their view--they weaken socialism.

Almost daily reports are being received, saying the leaders of "Solidarity" have established further contacts with various organizations of rightwing persuasions, that they are trying to win support in the West. They are visiting West European countries especially meeting even with people who shy away from mothing. Their pharisaism reached its current pinnacle when they had talks with representatives of the revanchist circles in the FRG. The West German news agency DPA published a report the day before yesterday on the meeting, which took place in February in Koenigstein in Hessen.

Could there be an even more cynical step that this? After all, it was the juggernaut of the Nazi Third Reich which swooped with full force precisely on Poland and thus began World War II. Millions of Poles lost their lives, the majority of cities were destroyed and the country's economic potential almost completely paralyzed. Poland was erased by Nazi chieftains from the map of Europe, extensive territories incorporated into the Third Reich and the rest administered as "general government" by the cruel Nazi dictatorship.

Therefore, every honest Pole must be profoundly angered by "Solidarity's" leaders fraternizing with successors of those who have the Polish nation's calvary during World War II on their conscience. It is more evidence that these "representatives of non-political trade unions" in their crusade against socialism hesitate at nothing and are also seeking support from inveterate enemies of Poland and the socialist countries in general. They are revealing their true face. They are not interested in the well-being of the Polish working people, but in gaining political power and destroying socialism.

CHNOUPEK, SOVIET ENVOY DISCUSS CURRENT EVENTS

LD301456 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, received today in the Cernin Palace in Prague the Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Aleksandr Botvin.

In the course of a cordial and friendly conversation they discussed some questions of mutual cooperation and topical problems of current international developments.

COLOTKA SPEECH AT CPSL CONGRESS SESSION 21 MARCH

AU271201 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Mar 81 p 3

[Speech by Peter Colotka, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic at the 21 March session of the CPSL Congress in Bratislava]

[Excerpts] Ladies and gentlemen comrades, in analyzing the tasks awaiting us, we see that the basic prerequisites of fulfilling them must lie unambiguously in broader application of scientific-technical progress.

Today about 50,000 persons are working in Slovakia's science and research; this is no small figure, both in relation to the CSSR's entire scientific-research base, and in comparison with the standards of countries with a developed industry. However, the performance of our workplaces frequently lags behind world standards. That is why, in further developing, for instance, the institutes of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, the departmental institutes, or research at the university level schools, we will have to devote greater attention to the quality of cadres, to their professional and organizational abilities and their sense of resolving the practical needs of our national economy.

And, commensurately, we must also think through the issues pertaining to differentiated remuneration for, and more effective stimulation of, successful work. We must also adjust the training of people--from qualified workers to university-level and scientific cadres--to be more markedly oriented toward implementing technical progress.

Proceeding from existing experience, we must ensure in practice much closer and prompter interlinking of scientific-research activities with the solution of production problems. Therefore we must first of all further improve the management of this sphere in the plan, and also through the direct management and inspection work of the government, of the Ministries of Construction and Development and Technology and of other appropriate ministries, in the interest of more markedly concentrating forces on the tasks demanded by practice and of providing prerequisites for successful results. We must make far better use of the scientific-technical information offered by the world, so as to avoid directing the means for research and development work toward discovering what has already been discovered, toward cultivating so-called hobbies for their own sake, or toward work without even long-range prospects of effectively implementing the results in practice.

In view of the increasing difficulties in gaining access to power resources and raw materials, and in view of their growing prices, scientific-technical development must contribute more effectively toward more speedily orienting our economy toward a production structure demanding less energy and raw materials. We are faced with the task of achieving an average annual saving of approximately 2 percent in fuel and power, and 4.5-5 percent in metals in the Seventh 5-Year Plan, and of generally achieving progress in the trend toward economizing on and making better use of all raw and other materials. In the interest of all this we must put an end to all and any indolence and to narrow enterprise, local or departmental interests; and we must extricate ourselves from all inertia and from the conservativism connected with it.

In view of the considerable dependence of our production on raw material imports, it is inefficient for us to export basic metallurgical materials, crude oil products utilized at a very low level, or unprocessed timber. Surely it must be our aim to increase the exportability of products representing the highest degree of qualified work of our people's minds and hands. Likewise, it is in our all-social interest to devote greater attention to anti-import production, thus diminishing our dependence on nonsocialist markets and contributing to a more marked edge of export increases over imports.

In speaking of our foreign relations, special mention must be made of our economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, because it represents an extremely significant factor of the economic stability of the entire CSSR economy. It must be added that, apart from the economic advantages of such cooperation, it is also an expression of fraternal relations between socialist countries. For us it is a commitment to regard the timely and good fulfillment of our commitments in this respect as--in the political sense--the specific expression of socialist internationalism in practical life.

In the last decade we spent more than Kcs15 billion to substantially rebuild, modernize and expand the cellulose-paper and timber industry and to make the utmost use of our significant natural riches--timber products [drevna hmota]. Regrettably, the intended effect of those investments is delayed, partly because of deadline changes in construction projects but also--in a whole number of instances--owing to unsatisfactory startups in production, to equipment breakdowns and to failure to achieve planned parameters. Understandably, that has caused grave problems in satisfying the needs of domestic customers, as well as a loss of foreign currency means.

Ladies and gentlemen comrades, above all our attention must be concentrated on the entire complex of food production, because its results significantly influence the general balanced development of the national economy.

Even though in the Sixth 5-Year Plan we have ensured the further increase of food production and on-the-whole smooth supplies to the population, we must not forget that we were able to achieve this only at the price of increasing fodder imports, which has considerably deteriorated our balance of payments. It need not be stressed that the tense external economic relations--as well as the sorry example of our northern neighbors--do not permit us to repeat such a method of solving the situation. This must be realized with the utmost seriousness by the agriculturists themselves, but also by all those who bear the responsibility for contributing to agricultural production, and particularly by our chemists, engineering workers and builders.

The most significant problem in our agriculture is the lack of balance between fodder production and animal production. We must commensurately adjust the structure of animal production, meaning that further growth of meat production must be primarily ensured by developing cattle breeding and sheep raising, whereas pig and poultry production will be able to develop only to the extent made possible by grain resources, or else their more economical and effective utilization.

We should also finally put an end to the stagnation of per-hectare yields of potatoes so as not to have to cover, as a traditional potato-growing country, part of the consumption by imports. Here, not only the agricultural enterprises, but mainly the growers and the entire agricultural administration, with the ministry at the head, must put their shoulders to the wheel.

Ladies and gentlemen comrades, even in the coming years the object of our concern must be capital construction; all the more so because, even despite certain progress, we have not been able to successfully cope at all times with certain problems in that sphere--not even on the level of the government and the ministries. The economic aspect will force us to refrain from exceeding the level of 1981 in the annual volume of investments in the Seventh 5-Year Plan. We should therefore assess the expediency of spending every koruna with still greater responsibility.

Ladies and gentlemen comrades, we must not tolerate any recklessness in the protection of living environments, in the interests of preserving healthy living conditions for the present and future generations and for reproducing natural resources. As certain cases of disaster--for instance at the Chemko Strazske enterprise--show us, it will be necessary to adhere far more responsibly to the technological production regimes, to tighten up regulations for granting temporary exceptions, and to control more rigidly adherence to conditions under which exceptions are granted.

Ladies and gentlemen comrades, the basic prerequisite of mastering the tasks facing us is to raise the level of the planned management of the national economy. We realize that transition to the intensive method of developing the economy will place higher demands on the conceptual work of the government and its bodies.

We will increasingly have to solve economic problems on a long-range basis, on the basis of thoroughly analyzing existing prerequisites and anticipating future development trends; and do it comprehensively, in all contexts.

Each level of management must--in the interest of improving the quality of all our work--be fully responsible for matters within its jurisdiction, deal with them in good time and bring them to an end. We often find that enterprises and economic production units delegate problems to higher-level bodies without exhausting all opportunities to resolve them at their level. That leads to the central agencies' excessive involvement in work of an operative nature at the expense of conceptual work, which ought to be the center of gravity of their activity. Even at the government level--at the sessions in which we sometimes dealt with problems that could have been resolved by ministries, within the framework of their agendas--we have not be able to avoid such practices.

The comrade ministers must forestall such delegations [of responsibility] in such cases by taking a closer look at who dodged his obligations and by drawing appropriate conclusions from it.

Supplier-user relations are an area in which shortcomings in the planning, conceptual and operative aspects of managerial work are particularly pronounced. The system-related measures that were adopted in that area 2 years ago have not yet been applied actively and consistently enough. The experience in preparing the 1981 plan shows that the deliveries of a rather broad range of materials and products remain unresolved, that the general directorates and ministries—especially in engineering and in the timber-processing industry—have not yet cleared up a number of controversial issues on which successful fulfillment of tasks is contingent. At its last session the CPSL Central Committee Presidium dealt with those issues and enjoined communists in the government to draw the appropriate conclusions, on the basis of experiences in fulfilling tasks in the first 2 months of this year. That is all the more important as an unsuccessful start might jeopardize the goals which we are linking with implementing the Set of Measures.

The style and methods of managerial work must correspond to the increasingly complex and multifaceted material relations in the economy. Especially closer and more effective cooperation between ministries and the individual levels of National Committees is essential. It is necessary to do away with harmful parochialism and display more understanding and greater flexibility and promptness in solving tasks of all-social significance. That applies within the framework of the Slovak Socialist Republic, to relations between the ministries of the two national republics, as well as to relations with the federal ministries. There are still shortcomings in this area owing to our ministries' inconsistency, be it in coordinating a joint approach to solving problems or in drafting measures concerning issues to be decided by the federal government. In light of the more than 12 years of the federative constitutional setup we appreciate its great contribution--to fuller utilization of national energy and initiative, to more purposeful management of the unified Czechoslovak economy and, in particular, to strengthening Czechoslovak statehood. But precisely this interest requires that we improve through day-to-day practical activity the working of the federative mechanism. The most convincing way of accomplishing that is by ensuring--while applying in organic unity the authority of both the federal and the two republics' agencies--with utmost responsibility the tasks which the 16th CPCZ Congress and the current CPSL Congress will formulate for us.

Control is still one of the weak links in the state agencies' managerial work, especially in the economic sphere. We must be alarmed by the fact that the so-called external control--which cannot, naturally, owing to its scope and prerequisites, encompass the whole breadth of economic life--has thus far made a more pronounced contribution to uncovering and overcoming many shortcomings. That is why we stress from the congress rostrum that control must constitute an integral part of managerial work at all levels of management. That is a fundamental prerequisite to properly fulfilling all resolutions, decisions and orders, to observing planning, work and technological discipline, to protecting social property and forestalling antisocial acts.

The standard of management depends primarily on the political, professional and moral qualities of the managerial staff. Moral and personal qualities such as initiative, a sense of what is new, assertiveness, personal courage and ability to organize, to cement and steer a collective of people are coming to the fore today, more than ever before in the past. It is essential to boost more boldly such employees and to assign functions to them, but also to help them when they encounter lack of understanding or resistance while asserting all-social interests. We must pay more attention and provide more scope for capable young people and women, as Comrade Lenart stressed in the congress report. We will adopt such a course in improving the cadre setup in the apparatuses of ministries, in which there is currently a considerable exchange of cadres, in view of the age structure.

Comrades, the reason we are placing particular emphasis on direct managerial work is that it will determine to a considerable degree the successful implementation of the Set of Measures for improving the planned management system.

Since adopting the Set of Measures at the beginning of last year a great deal has been done to detail it, adapt it to the specific conditions of some branches and, especially, propagate and explain it. But that was only the first step. The second more difficult stage--to work out the Set of Measures for the conditions of each organization, plant and worksite--has been less successful, because it required, in fact, transforming the general principles and elements of the Set of Measures into indicators, tasks and norms for individual levels, down to the lowest links, so as to make each employee clearly realize his tasks in raising effectiveness and, naturally, also their monetary implications.

The drafting of the plan for 1981 and the experience acquired at the beginning of this year have shown that we have not yet fully mastered that stage. The Set of Measures has not yet been worked out down to the interenterprise sphere. Frequently it is an affair concerning merely the enterprise staffs while the workers and rank-and-file employees know it only from the mass information and propganda media, in its general form. It is therefore urgent that communists heading the sectors, but also communists in economic production units, enterprises and plants see to it that the Set of Measures is speedily worked out for their specific conditions and, in particular, that a system of norms is drawn up that will serve as a yardstick and criterion in evaluating the collectives' and individuals' actual contribution to society. It is equally important to work out more effective ways of improving the working people's participation in drafting and implementing the plan, especially in developing counterplanning in enterprises and their subdivisions.

An important role in enlisting the working people for party policy and in implementing their interests is played by the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. I think that the development of good relations of mutually active cooperation in the last few years between the Slovak Council of Trade Unions and the Slovak Socialist Republic Government and between individual trade unions and ministries has been beneficial. It is true, however, that there are things that could be improved. Above all, it is essential that this cooperation also find its tangible manifestation at the lower links of management as well. It will be beneficial when party bodies in regions and districts devote appropriate attention to those issues.

RUDE PRAVO REVIEWS RESULTS OF CPSL CONGRESS

AU271505 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Mar 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Firm Component of the CPCZ"]

[Excerpts] The CPSL Congress ended this Sunday in Bratislava. It was the culmination of preparations for the approaching 16th CPCZ Congress. The 3-day deliberations unambiguously proved the Slovak Communists' ideological, organizational and action firmness and unity and their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian socialist internationalism.

The Congress of Slovak Communists was an expression of international sentiments, both inside and outside the country. It manifested loyalty to our firm, friendly allied ties with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, which are regarded by our party and our state as the pivotal, unchangeable cornerstone of our foreign policy. All congress participants accepted the words uttered by Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, that we will do everything to further strengthen the party's leading role in the life of our country, to consolidate its close links with the people and to protect their socialist achievements.

Yes, with the people and for the people--only thus is our CPCZ's policy drawn up, and nothing can be changed in it by the increasingly furious anticommunist sallies by international reaction.

Czechoslovakia is a firm link in the socialist community and it will do everything to strengthen and unify the socialist community and defend socialism.

The CPSL Congress has documented that the federal arrangement of our state has become a significant factor in consolidating the fraternal relations of nations and nationalities in our fatherland and in deepening the moral-political unity of our society. The federal arrangement proceeds from the Leninist solution of the nationality policy; it consistently respects equal rights and strengthens mutual trust. It is creating increasingly favorable conditions for a dynamic advance of the two national republics and thus also for consolidating the unity and strength of the common socialist state.

The CPSL, this combat formation and firm component of the united Marxist-Leninist CPCZ, today has 388,543 members and candidate-members among its ranks. Since the 15th CPCZ Congress the ranks of communists have also been growing in Slovakia, and prominent workers, cooperative farmers and representatives of the Slovak intelligentsia have joined the party. The party's authority and the trust in it among the working people have grown. The congress commits the communists to continue deepening and consolidating this authority and trust among the people by their exemplary work and activity.

The deliberations of the Slovak Communists were fruitful and creative. They convincingly showed what is now most important--that the party and the people throughout the country are well prepared for the approaching 16th Congress. And this is the main prerequisite for the Congress of Czechoslovak Communists to be able to program, in peace and in a businesslike and highly responsible manner, the country's future and the further advance of our socialist community; it is the main prerequisite for the congress to be able to mobilize the forces of the two nations and all nationalities to fulfill the future tasks as they are set by the 16th CPCZ Congress.

RUDE PRAVO ON COST ACCOUNTABILITY IN ECONOMY

AU271909 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Mar 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Cost Accountability and Initiative"]

[Excerpt] The purpose of cost accountability is for more intensive endeavors toward better economic results. For this reason its instruments must be, above all, oriented toward the formation of material and therefore also of financial resources; toward raising work productivity; more efficient utilization of basic assets; more efficient and more economic consumption of materials; utilization of fuels, energy, tools, machinery and so forth. Thus it is not enough to begin implementing cost accountability only in production alone, but also in the rest of the sectors of the reproduction process in economic organizations, particularly in technical development, in the reproduction of basic assets and manpower as well as in foreign trade.

Since cost accountability purpose is to contribute to systematically increasing effectiveness through a more intensive formation of resources, it is in the very interest of the working people, whose remuneration depends on economic results, to deepen and develop cost accountability with a correctly oriented initiative and socialist competition, but at the same time to see to it that the initiative of work collectives and individuals does not cover up the consequences of poor administration and management. The concreteness and controlability of initiative, particularly of socialist pledges that are being concluded, requires integrating the entire system of intraenterprise planning and budgeting of economic centers on the one hand, and of the bookkeeping system, flexible record keeping and statistics on the other.

It is obvious that cost accountability requires a responsible approach from all centers and all subdivisions to the fulfillment of tasks, an earnest endeavor for best possible results not only in an isolated interest of a center of subdivision, but in the interest of the entire enterprise.

After all, any center or subdivision can influence the implementation of tasks with their irreplaceable share. One has to demand from workers in workshops quality work. And the increased technical standard of a product must be ensured by the appropriate subdivision (but this does not exclude the possibility that precisely a worker will discover how to improve the aforementioned standard).

Thus, cost accountability actually defines the accountability of every center for the management and carrying out of planned tasks within the framework of its jurisdiction and activity.

JAKES ADDRESSES SEMINAR ON CPSU CONGRESS

LD311032 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Text] An all-state seminar on the results of the summit meeting of Soviet communists, began in Prague today under the slogan: The 26th CPSU Congress--a Source of Inspiration in the Struggle for Communism and Peace. Its importance for the development of Soviet society was explained by Milos Jakes, candidate presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

CHURCH DIGNITARY HONORED FOR WORK FOR PEACE

AU271800 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Mar 81 p 2

[CTK report: "Acknowledgement of Work for Peace"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)--In Prague yesterday, CSSR Deputy Premier M. Lucan received K. Toth, doctor of theology, chairman of the Christian Peace Conference and bishop of the Reformed Hungarian Church, on the occasion of the latter's 60th birthday. M. Lucan appraised his many years of engaged work for peace and understanding among peoples and assured him that the CSSR Government would continue supporting the noble peace endeavors of the international Christian movement. Bishop K. Toth expressed thanks for the support granted by the Czechoslovak Government up to now to the Christian Peace Movement and stated that the Christian Peace Conference would exert every effort to support the USSR's significant peace proposals and consolidate peace in the world. The reception was attended by prominent representatives of Czechoslovak church life and by K. Hruza, head of the Secretariat for Church Affairs attached to the office of the CSSR's Government Presidium. J. Hanko, counselor of the Embassy of the Hungarian People's Republic in the CSSR, was also present.

BRIEFS

HUNGARIAN MINISTER DEPARTS--Hungarian Finance Minister Istvan Hetenyi, who arrived for a working visit in Prague on 16 March, left for home on 17 March. He was seen off at Ruzyne airport by his CSSR counterpart, L. Ler, and Hungarian ambassador to CSSR Bela Kovacs. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Mar 81 p 1 AU]

SLOVAK ELECTRICITY PRODUCTION--In 1980, Slovak powerplants generated a total of 17,423,405 mwh of electric power, of which 1,668,641 mwh--or 7.19 percent--were lost in transmission. CSSR-wide, these losses were even greater--7.62 percent. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Mar 81 p 1 AU]

AGRICULTURAL LAND--According to O. Vanek, Czech minister of agriculture and food, agricultural land in the Czech Socialist Republic has decreased by more than 69,200 hectares since 1976. [Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 13 Mar 81 p 4 AU]

FIRES IN CZECH LANDS--In January 331 fires broke out on the territory of the Czech Socialist Republic, causing damages amounting to Kcs8 million and the loss of 13 lives. [Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 16 Mar 81 p 2 AU]

ADN NOTES U.S. PRESIDENT REAGAN WOUNDED BY SHOT

LD302104 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2054 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Washington, 30 Mar (ADN)--An unknown man fired shots at U.S. President Ronald Reagan today as he left a hotel in the center of Washington. According to the latest agency reports, Reagan was injured by a shot in the left side of the chest and taken to the hospital. The White House press chief and two security officials were also hit.

Honecker Reaction

LD311108 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1043 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Text] Berlin, 13 Mar (ADN)--The general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, has sent a telegram to U.S. President Ronald Reagan, expressing his shock at the attack on the U.S. President and sending best wishes for his speedy recovery.

HONECKER SENDS GREETINGS TO BULGARIAN CONGRESS

LD311006 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0201 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Text] Berlin, 31 Mar (ADN)--The SED and the BCP have been linked since time immemorial by close bonds of friendship and solidarity. This is emphasized in a greetings address from the SED Central Committee to the 12th BCP Congress. The message, signed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, goes on to say: "They continue the best traditions of the revolutionary German and Bulgarian workers' movement. Our parties are united by loyalty to the victorious doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the firm, unshakeable alliance with the party of Lenin, the battle-tested vanguard of the international communist and workers movement."

Referring to the successful development of relations between the two parties and states in all sectors of social life, it is further noted: "Fraternal cooperation and intensive exchange of experiences strengthen socialism in our countries, draw our peoples closer together and at the same time contribute toward the further strengthening of the socialist community of states. The SED will continue in future to work purposefully on the further all-round strengthening of the fraternal alliance between our parties and states."

CIA REPORT ON USSR INVOLVEMENT IN EL SALVADOR NOTED

DW301917 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1113 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Rainer Koch commentary]

[Text] In Washington last weekend details of a classified CIA study on El Salvador became known. I says, among other things, that the allegation about Soviet arms supplies to El Salvador is totally unfounded. Rainer Koch comments.

Was it an accident that details of the CIA report leaked out? There are many reasons to believe that it was, because the CIA, admitting that reports on Soviet arms supplies to the Salvadorian patriots are totally unfounded, acknowledges that its so-called white paper on El Salvador published a month ago with much propaganda was a gross falsification. The paper weighing 16 pounds had the provocative heading "Communist Interference in El Salvador" and was a compilation of innumerable unproven allegations.

Former CIA officials immediately expressed doubts about the authenticity of the documents. The last one, a man named (Ralph McGee), 2 days ago said in the U.S. weekly NATION that the white paper reminded him of similar falsifications by the U.S. intelligence service in Iran in the fifties, in Indonesia in the sixties and in Chile in the early seventies. The man knows what he is talking about; he has had long years of practical experiences as a CIA official.

The white paper was prepared with a view to manipulating opinions and justifiying U.S. intervention and consequently was a deliberate distortion of facts. The other report was written for the government, for its information. Understandably, it was more in keeping with reality. Its authors, just like their customers, very likely did not expect that it would ge published. Seen from Washington's viewpoint it is an unpleasant case, all the more so since opposition in the United States to U.S. intervention in El Salvador is intensifying.

White House spokesman James Brady had to admit that out of 100 letters addressed to the president on El Salvador, 96 warn about increasing U.S. involvement in the conflict in the Central American country. A movement similar to the anti-Vietnam war movement is emerging. It was impossible to halt it through the white paper. The details leaked out of the classified report by the CIA will much rather support it.

Irrespective of all this, arms and money in support of the Salvadoran junta continue to flow, and U.S. killers together with junta troops and rightist gangs continue to kill, up to now without the desired success, however. Genocide after 3 weeks of uninterrputed bombings in the province of Morazan, unrestrained terror and tortures have not prevented the liberation forces from continuing their actions, inflicting serious losses on the adversary time and again. The most evident effect of intensified U.S. intervention has been the growing number of victims among the civilian population.

DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER MEETS AUSTRIA'S PAHR

LD310334 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1723 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Vienna, 30 Mar (ADN)--GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Kurt Nier met with Austrian Foreign Minister Willilbald Pahr in Vienna today. Both men praised the steady and dynamic development of relations between the two states and peoples. They noted with satisfaction that the visit to Austria at the end of last year of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, and his talks with Austrian leaders had born fruit in all fields of cooperation.

Willibald Pahr and Kurt Nier expressed the conviction that this mutually beneficial cooperation constitutes an important contribution to peace, detente and European stability. They emphasized that the current world situation calls for intensified efforts to decrease tensions, curb the arms race and ensure international security. Everything should be done in Madrid to achieve results in order to pave the way for detente and disarmament.

EGON KRENZ TALKS TO VISITING FRG DELEGATION

LD271536 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1918 GMT 26 Mar 81

[Text] Berlin, 26 Mar (AND)--The visit by a delegation of the national executive of the SPD Young Socialists organization of the FDJ Central Council ended on 26 March with the adoption of a joint statement. At the signing in the FDJ Central Council building, Egon Krenz, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, and Willi Piecyk, national chairman of the Young Socialists in the SPD, praised the good, businesslike, open and constructive atmosphere of the talks. Both said that the foremost task of the youth organizations was to make an active contribution to the safeguarding of peace. There was no more important issue at present than the preservation of peace.

The joint statement says: "The FDJ and Young Socialists oppose the dismantling of detente in favor of a policy of confrontation and cold war. They still believe that it is necessary to make peace secure by negotiations and treaties between states of different social systems and that concrete steps of arms limitation and disarmament should be agreed as soon as possible in order to continue the process of detente, lesson the danger of war and avert a new round in the arms race." In this connection both youth organizations emphasize the need to start without delay negotiations so that no further medium-range missiles should be deployed and existing systems are reduced as quickly as possible on the basis of a military balance. At the very start of the negotiations, existing medium-range missiles in Europe should be frozen at their present level and all preparations made for the deployment of new medium-range missiles should be discontinued.

The statement goes on: "The Young Socialists in the SPD and the FDJ favor the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, within the spirit of the basic treaty, supporting the efforts to reduce armed forces and armaments in Europe on the basis of equal security for all."

The FDJ and Young Socialists express the expectation that international tensions will not adversely affect the relations between the two German states. They call for the development of cooperation among the states in Europe on the basis of implementing the Helsinki Final Act completely.

Both youth organizations again call for the ratification of SALT-II and for further SALT negotiations. "Every further round in the arms race creates more insecurity in the world and amounts to the senseless waste of resources needed for urgent social tasks and for aid to develop the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America," the statement says. In this connection it calls for the reorganization of international economic realtions on a just and democratic basis.

The FDJ and Young Socialists call for the convocation of a European conference to discuss all constructive proposals for confidence-building measures, arms control, arms limitation and disarmament. They affirm their demands for agreements on a comprehensive ban of the neutron weapon. They want a ban of chemical weapons and of the development and production of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. The statement also calls for banning nuclear weapon tests and the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Both sides emphasize the need to reduce armed forces and conventional armaments as well as military budgets.

In view of the tense international situation in various regions of the world, the FDJ and Young Socialists affirm their view that all peoples must be able, in national independence and without outside interference, to decide on their social, cultural, military, economic and political development. Zones of peace and detente should be agreed by treaties. In assessing the level of international youth relations both sides pay tribute to the positive results of the world forum of youth and students for peace, detente and disarmament in Helsinki.

The young socialists and FDJ attach great importance to the common work within the European youth structure, set up in Budapest in 1980 for filling in the results of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The FDJ and Young Socialists agreed to hold a seminar in the FRG in 1982. The FDJ Central Council accepted an invitation from the Young Socialists to send a delegation to the Federal Republic of Germany. The national executive of the Young Socialists accepted an invitation to attend the 11th FDJ parliament in June.

Bidding farewell, Egon Krenz wished the delegation of the Young Socialists success in the struggle for peace, detente and disarmament and against the deployment of new medium-range missiles.

AGREEMENTS WITH SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE SIGNED

AU311048 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28-29 Mar 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On Friday in Berlin, the second session of the Joint GDR-Sao Tome and Principe Commission was concluded. The delegations were headed by Roland Schuhmann, GDR deputy minister of foreign trade, and (Fausto Soares da Vera Cruz), minister of trade [as published] of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe.

The session took place in a friendly and open-minded atmosphere. At the conclusion, a protocol on further deepening economic and scientific-technological cooperation was signed.

On the same day, a work plan on cultural and scientific cooperation between the governments of the GDR and Sao Tome and Principe for 1981-82 was agreed. The agreement was signed by Bernhard Neugebauer, GDR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and by Minister (Fausto Soares da Vera Cruz). It mainly provides for cooperation in the fields of education and public health, as well as exchanges in the field of culture.

DEFENSE MINISTER HOFFMANN VISITS REPAIR WORKS

LD301452 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1200 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Defense Minister Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, had cordial talks today with workers of the Veb Reparaturwerk Neubrandenburg. He assessed the works' excellent results as an important contribution to the great mass initiative by the working people of the republic and their soldiers. These efforts by the members of the army to achieve a high level of fighting strength and combat readiness were also reflected in the work of the staffs and in the operations by the East German troops alongside the Soviet, Polish and Czechoslovak brothers-in-arms during the command and staff exercise 'Soyuz-81.' In the face of the increased preparations for aggression by the most reactionary circles of imperialism [words indistinct] and the FRG the soldiers of socialism saw it as their duty to guarantee with vigilance and with military mastery the protection of the workers-and-farmers power.

(?Manfred Schrock), brigadier of a collective of socialist labor and delegate to the 10th SED party Congress, briefed the defense minister on the efforts being made by the members of the enterprise for socialist national defense. The repair works had for 183 months continuously fulfilled the plan and could allow for an additional day's output before the party congress. He gave the assurance that, like the members of the East German and their brothers-in-arms, the workers also did their share to protect securely socialist achievements from all enemies.

KROLIKOWSKI COMMISSIONS STEEL MILL AT BRANDENBURG

LD301624 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Today, 7 months ahead of schedule, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Werner Krolikowski commissioned a rolling mill for continuous wire manufacture at the Brandenburg steel rolling mill. At a meeting the SED Central Committee Politburo member thanked on behalf of the party and state leadership the heavy engineering constructors, metallurgists and (?construction) workers for the exemplary fulfillment of the party congress obligation. He paid tribute to the responsible work by the workers, engineers and scientists who, by setting up this ultra-modern plant, are making an important contribution to realizing the main task in its unity of economic and social policy and are also providing new and convincing proof of the efficiency of the GDR's heavy engineering industry.

BUDAPEST RADIO NOTES REAGAN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT

LD302218 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] In Washington a shot was allegedly fired at U.S. President Reagan as he set off from home. According to eyewitness reports, the President was immediately bundled by Secret Service men into a bullet-proof car. The reports have not been confirmed but it is a fact that a policeman and several detectives have been wounded.

POLISH SOLIDARITY BEGINS TO SHOW 'TRUE FACE'

AU301822 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Mar 81 p 2

[Gabor Kurti article: "Dangerous Tension in Poland; With an Open Visor"]

[Text] As a result of the events of recent days, serious danger is confronting Poland--that was the conclusion reached at the meeting on Sunday by the PZPR Politburo. It has declared: The party continues to strive for a solution of the conflicts by political means. Tranquillity is a fundamental prerequisite for successful continuation of socialist renewal--stressed the PZPR Politburo--therefore, a cessation of any kind of strike action is needed.

As shown by the most recent reports, the sober appraisal of the situation has not been met with a positive reception in the supreme leadership of Solidarity in spite of the fact that the PZPR Politburo has termed the strikes, the prospect of which has been held out by Solidarity, as strikes of a political character and pointed out that in undermining the socialist social order the danger of anarchy threatens and that the Solidarity general staff has announced an established strike timetable. One can conclude from that that the organization intends gradually to escalate the work stoppages and thereby the tension. Thus, it has again taken up the "strike weapon," the setting aside of which Army General Jaruzelski, head of the government, requested at the Sejm on 12 February.

The significance of and antecedents to the Solidarity decision are shown by recalling that although numerous issues following last summer's agreements waited to be resolved when the new premier assumed his office, not only has the government shown its willingness in principle to resolve them, but has taken practical steps to that end. One after another, various bills coming up to the Sejm--for instance, on the trade unions and rural self-administration--bills which Solidarity representatives had participated in working out, have been submitted to social debates. To facilitate cooperation with the trade unions, the government has created a separate commission headed by Deputy Premier Rakowski. Among other things, these steps have proven that the government is making efforts to keep its promises and does not strive for confrontation, but for a genuinely constructive dialogue with the trade unions.

However, such a development of affairs is not to the liking of the Solidarity leadership--and the counterrevolutionary forces skulking behind, alongside and in it. They have made new demands of an expressly political character, and, glaringly in violation of the law, began political acts. An extensive propaganda campaign began in recent days. Posters and leaflets attacking the police and the security forces have appeared in Warsaw.

While commissions set up by the government are striving to clarify the circumstances of and reasons for the incident that took place in Bydgoszcz last Thursday, Solidarity, not even waiting for the outcome of the investigation, decided to intensify the tension. It spoke of "provocation," which--allegedly--is meant to spoil cooperation between the government and Solidarity. Well, there are indications that there has been provocation, but its authors should probably be sought precisely in Solidarity circles, because it is a fact, for instance, that the United Peasant Party center in Bydgoszcz was illegally occupied days before the voivodship council meeting.

Solidarity sent considerably more of its representatives than were invited to the voivodship council meeting and they were unwilling to leave hours after the conclusion of the deliberations. In the meantime, some 2,000 people assembled in front of the building. For that reason--as they themselves have related on Warsaw television--voivodship leaders feared a sitdown strike or the occupation of the council building. They made several requests to the Solidarity representatives to leave and called out unarmed policemen only after their refusal.

The events indicate that the Bydgoszcz incidents took place according to a definite scenario, as a specific dress rehearsal. Apparently the Solidarity leadership is beginning to show its true face. However, the organizers in the background must take into account that, as the PZPR Politburo has declared, their steps in glaring violation of the law cannot and will not be tolerated by the state organs.

TU COUNCIL DISCUSSES 5-DAY WORKWEEK, OTHER ISSUES

LD310842 Budapest MTI in English 0613 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Text] Budapest, 30 Mar (MTI)--The Presidium of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions met in session on Monday in Budapest. It discussed the tasks of the trade unions in connection with the planned switchover to the five-day workweek, and the experiences of the socialist labor emulation movement. The body evaluated the results of the 5th Five-Year Plan term and within that of the labour emulation movements invited in honour of the party's congress and the country's liberation anniversary, and awarded decorations to companies and socialist brigades. The Presidium convened to April 17 the first meeting of the Central Council of the Trade Unions elected by the 24th congress and adopted the draft of the agenda of the meeting. The body also decided who will receive the CCTU prizes in 1981.

ACZEL HEADS PARTY DELEGATION TO BULGARIA

LD310846 Budapest MTI in English 0612 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Text] Budapest, 30 Mar (MTI)--Headed by Gyorgy Aczel, member of the Political Committee and deputy-chairman of the Council of Ministers, a delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party left for Sofia Monday. Invited by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the delegation will attend the 12th Congress of the Fraternal Party.

LEADERS GREET TSEDENBAL, BATMONH ON SPACE FLIGHT

LD310846 Budapest MTI in English 1745 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Budapest, 30 Mar (MTI)--Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee; Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council; and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, greeted in a telegram Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, and Jambyn Batmonh, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, on the occasion of successful completion of the [words indistinct] Soviet-Mongolian spaceflight.

BRIEFS

NORWEGIAN MINISTER'S VISIT--At the invitation of Istvan Hetenyi, minister of finance, a Norwegian delegation led by Ulf Sand, minister of finance and customs, had talks in Hungary 11-14 March, during which economic, trade and financial relations and means of further developing cooperation were reviewed. [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 15 Mar 81 p 7 AU]

REAGAN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT 30 MAR REPORTED

LD302246 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2130 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] This evening an attempt was made in Washington on the life of the President of the United States Ronald Reagan. The assassin fired several shots just as the President was leaving the Hilton Hotel, where he had been taking part in a trade union conference of the AFL-CIO organization of construction workers. One of the bullets slightly wounded the President in the chest. Also wounded were presidential Press Secretary James Brady and a police officer and a security service agent. The assassin was arrested.

MORE ON CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM; KANIA SPEAKS

Kania Closing Speech

LD301904 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1740 GMT 30 Mar 81

["Text" of closing speech by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, on 30 March at end of 29-30 March PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw--read by announcer]

[Text] Dear comrades! The common thought of our debate was first of all the great concern for the future of the country and a profound sense of responsibility for its destiny, for its security. The grimness of the present situation and the dangerous trend in the development of events was commonly felt.

This situation has been characterized both as catastrophic and dramatic and one which makes a threat to our national existence feasible.

None of these terms are exaggerations since our situation is more difficult than at any time for many, many years. Hence the great responsibility felt by the whole party.

The Central Committee has been receiving many letters eloquent of this anxiety. During the past 10 days the Central Committee has received more than 350 resolutions and letters from party organizations and activists which have expressed anxiety in connection with the exacerbation of the situation and by the prospects of where it may lead. These resolutions set steep demands addressed to the Politburo to find a solution and to halt this dramatic course of events.

We have received these letters and resolutions with the attention they deserve. The danger lying in the direction in which the situation has been developing is being felt by all, and not only by activists and members of our party. In fact, it is being felt by all Poles.

Looking for a way out of the threats and dangers, we should do everything to resolve all kinds of conflicts by ourselves to avert the dangers which threaten our country. This is our great obligation; this is the dictate of the moment. This is possible but only if the whole party closes its ranks, understands the threats and opposes everything that threatens tension and creates it and that harms our socialist state.

We want to consistently continue implementing the course of socialist renewal proclaimed at the Sixth Central Committee Plenum; and thus to further with all our strength the development of socialist democracy harmonized more than before with strengthened discipline and observance of the law.

We want with greater energy than before to act to further the modernization of our state, the governing and management of its affairs and the national economy. We want to work for the rebirth of the Leninist principles in the life of our party, for its deep bonds with the working class; for the strengthening of its ideological unity and organizational values.

We want, undertaking activity to resolve conflicts, to consistently use the method, tested over the past 9 months, of reaching an understanding with the working class.

We accept that proposal, or demand, expressed by the comrades taking the floor in the discussion, that it is the obligation of the Politburo and the government to do everything to prevent the strike announced for this Tuesday.

It has been stressed here that there is no price too high for internal peace. We understand perfectly how great that asset is. This is closely linked with the question: Are there limits to compromise?

With regard to a concern for internal peace, we have made a series of decisions which might have seemed irrational, but which have gone halfway toward satisfying that great need to ensure internal peace in our country.

Does this mean that there are no limits to compromise? No. One can say no a hundred times over. One cannot act so sharply either in the economic sphere or in the political sphere. In our concern for internal calm a number of decisions have been made connected with wage increases or increases in the incomes of the population. From the point of view of this great value, this has been correct. But, after all, it is not possible to hide that in our country we crossed the admissible limit of economic prudence a long time ago. Everything must be done to make sure that equilibrium is restored in this sphere, too.

There are also limits when we discuss other demands in the political sphere. This limit is demarcated by the interests of socialism, the maintenance of the leading role of the party and concern for the security of our state and for its credibility as a member of the socialist community.

Our party is a party of agreement, a party of great caution. The last few months have furnished much evidence of this. Above all, the solution of the great strike conflict of the summer of last year testifies to this.

But in our situation it is not simply enough to be a party of agreement. Life poses harsh demands. We must also be a party of struggle, a party defending socialist renewal--and not only defending, as was stressed at the plenum, against various forces of inertia, or, as it was termed, against various conservative tendencies. One must see--and we stressed this at the seventh and eighth plenuary sessions of the Central Committee--that more and more facts are appearing which testify to the great threats to socialist renewal from those who act against socialism, from those who are now banking not only on struggle against people's power but who are embarking on a struggle for power for themselves.

These forces are setting themselves aims which quite simply are counterrevolutionary. This is what we must bear in mind. We must daily pass the test of vigilance, of boldness and of skill in isolating opponents, exposing their intentions and showing their cunning tactics in order that working people and workers should above all understand class politics and the contents of this struggle.

In this debate we posed the question: How do we find the way out of the crisis? What conditions are necessary for this purpose? To come out of the crisis means to restore equilibrium in the national economy in order to put to good use the modern economic potential which is both considerable and significant. Conditions must be created for everybody to count every working minute so that we can meet the huge payments which we must effect in view of our indebtedness and to ensure the necessary minimum supply of basic foodstuffs for our market.

In this respect one should emphasize the importance of agriculture because only agriculture can ensure an improvement in the present scarce supplies of food. We have repeated more than once that the results achieved in farming are decided upon not only in the fields but also in factory sheds. We should do everything possible to bring about the functioning of a discipline of high standards as well as all-round initiatives of industrial enterprises and of all those on whom the performance of our agriculture depends. We should facilitate the development of self-government and show concern for agricultural circles and rural cooperatives. The countryside must not be allowed to become a territory for incitement to strife and for the struggle of the adversaries of socialism against the authorities.

The spring is coming and the time of the sowing campaign has arrived. It is a matter of state importance that the sowing campaign be conducted well.

But it is clear that it will not be possible to come out of the crisis if we do not stop the dangerous tendency of the new trade unions of Solidarity of becoming a destructive political force. We will treat all Solidarity organizations and all its activists with complete good will when Solidarity acts as a trade union and consolidates its functions in that direction in accordance with its statute and in accordance with the real interests of the workers. In making this demand to Solidarity we are not acting against the interests of the new trade unions. This is a demand which will help to settle Solidarity within our socialist system as a constructive force and not as an organization of struggle against authority.

Stress was put here on the importance of strengthening the state and its organs, and on the hopes which are attached to the government of Comrade Jaruzelski, which are hopes for the strengthening of the function of the whole apparatus of management, services and state institutions. Poland's situation and everything that conditions it indicates that there is a need for much more resolute action against the attempts to dismantle state structures, action in support of the observance of law. The law must mean law to everybody. This explains our concern for good, law observing--but at the same time--effective functioning of the public order and security services and of the prosecutor's office and courts. This is an important condition of facing all those who are attacking the interests of our socialist state.

Today, more than ever before, we should stress the importance of the unification of all people, not only those who because of ideological motives favor socialism but also those who adopt this attitude out of civic wisdom. This, too, is something valuable. Let us build this alliance, let us concern ourselves with effective, systematic collaboration with the ZSL and the SD. We must give more support to the branch industrial trade unions, women's and youth organizations. We call on everyone regardless of what they used to be before yesterday to come and build this alliance of commonsense as partners in this enterprise. What is important is how they are behaving today and how they want to act tomorrow. For all those who adopt this attitude we shall provide the best possible conditions for developing their general activity.

The attention of all working people is directed toward our party. Never before has the burden of our responsibility been so great as today. Never has the dependence on our party been clearer. Never has the truth been more obvious that Poland will be as our party is.

The comrades devoted a great amount of attention in the discussion to the resilience of our ranks and to strengthening the ideological unity and the organizational cohesion of our party. We stress that in the party and in its organizations and echelons models of democracy, but also of discipline, should be created. Together they create the strength of our Marxist-Leninist party.

The party of the new type is a party based on the principles of democratic centralism. There are no principles which are more effective for the way a party functions. One can hear voices here and there calling for the party to be changed into a loose union of party organizations which are functional and independent of higher echelons. This stage in the history of the workers' movement, the stage of educational circles, was passed a long time ago. We cannot tolerate changes in the principles governing the functioning of our party in a sociodemocratic direction since such a party has not built socialism anywhere. Such principles can only favor those who want to dismantle socialism, who want to weaken it.

The great importance of ideological work in our party, of spreading the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism and the history of our party's struggle, must be stressed. It is vital that our ideological work should be of a polemic nature regarding negative phenomena and alien views, the wave of which is spilling over throughout the country in factories and institutions.

In the discussion the comrades made a lot of remarks aimed at the Politburo. There were a number of very interesting proposals on which we must make our position clear because they will make our activities more efficient, more effective, and will make them serve to a greater extent the reconstruction of the strength of our party. However, this discussion was overall a critical one. It is understandable that it is difficult to count on the appreciation of comrades if the situation develops so badly, if it is so dramatic, if the crisis has been going on for so many months.

Our role is tough, very tough indeed. So is our responsibility. We know that it must be discharged better. Our duties can be discharged only if we enjoy the trust of the Central Committee, since we are its mandatories.

The criticism applied to many aspects of our work. It pointed to weaknesses in programming, to lack of efficiency and unsatisfactory bonds with party organizations, particularly the large ones, to the lameness of information and its contents, to delays and also unsatisfactory reactions to suggestions and demands flowing from local organizations. Much of this is correct. We simply accept this. But the situation in which we operate does not create conditions for normal work both in the Central Committee Secretariat and in the Politburo. Some comrades were stressing with concern their fears for the unity of the Politburo. What can be said about that? There is no lack of disputes in our collective and this is not a bad thing. But these discussions and arguments do not infringe on the limits of party spirit and are not contrary to the line of socialist renewal. That is why I support the composition of the Politburo as it now functions.

On the other hand, it seems that at the next Central Committee plenum it may prove useful to add new members. What are we leaving our plenum with?

First of all, in accordance with the expectations of party organizations, we have adopted a decision concerning the date of the congress. We have decided to convene it not later than 20 July of this year. This date is symbolic, as it is both the liberation anniversary and a date which underlines the great and epoch-making value in our history of the Polish-Soviet alliance and brotherhood of arms.

In the Politburo we expect that the congress should multiply the strength of our party and bring a viable program of great moral prestige to it and party authorities. It should give resilience to the whole party. In the second part of April we intend to convene a Central Committee plenum at which the draft programmatic document, which maps out the directions for the development of socialist democracy and the consolidation of the leading role of the party and the stabilization of the socioeconomic situation in the country, will be examined.

At that plenum we will present proposals concerning the norms for representation at the congress and regulations for the election of delegates. We will also meet halfway the expectations of party organizations concerning the carrying out of a report-back and election campaign throughout the country. The campaign will give shape to the new authorities and will map out directions for action.

It is very important during the report-back and election campaign that not only the question of what demands should be submitted to the higher echelons should be asked and answered--though this, too, may prove essential--but above all an answer to the question of what can be changed in every milieu with one's own forces, the forces of party members, party organizations and our close allies, should be sought.

Such a quest will be conducive to the activity of all party members. They will make party work more effective. We are coming out with new regulations for elections which give a very wide range of interparty democracy.

Let us, however, take care comrades, that our concern for the functioning of these democratic principles does not diminish the position of workers in our party organs. Such phenomena emerge in the first stage of the report-back and election campaign [sentence as heard].

We see in the participation of workers in all party echelons, in the composition of the whole party, in its organs including the Central Committee, an important premise of taking into consideration the principle of being guided by the strivings of labor, which is the chief mainstay of the party, the interests which we in fact serve.

We have given all of you, comrades, the report of our delegation to the 26th CPSU Congress. This was an event of great significance not only for the Soviet Union, the socialist community and the workers' movement, but for the whole world. The report of the Central Committee and the discussion at the congress yielded exceptional riches and generalized experiences and theoretical ideas and program solutions in many spheres. We should use this great achievement creatively in our activity as well.

In the congress hall of the CPSU deliberations, the unity of the party and the belief in the correctness of its general line--the line of building communism--was impressive. Two ideas ran through the report by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, two goals to which everything was subordinated: bread and peace. Bread should be understood not only as a plentiful table, although this is very important, but as concern for the broadly conceived good of man, for his material and cultural living conditions, for his public safety, for his high standing as a citizen of a socialist society. The second leitmotiv was peace.

In the Soviet program, this is not just the striving toward a state of no war, but activity toward developing broad and all-round international cooperation, international detente and the halting of the dangerous development toward increasing tension and setting in motion a new arms spiral.

We are vitally interested in this, both as an ally of the Soviet Union and because of our national interests. A peaceful world means a safer existence for Poland.

At the CPSU Congress, both in Comrade Brezhnev's report and in the statements by delegates, we met everywhere with great interest in the development of the situation in our country. Solidarity with our party was demonstrated in the conviction that it is capable of solving all conflicts and overcoming all difficulties. In the talks which we carried out at the Kremlin immediately after the congress, the great disquiet at the way the situation in Poland was developing was accompanied by the belief that our party, together with its allies in Poland, would gather the strength to solve all those great problems.

There is no small number of issues in our ranks which arouse conflict and emotion, both in the assessment of various phenomena referring to the past and the present day, as well as to plans for the future. This is normal. This enlivening of the life of our party is a great asset and it must be appreciated. We remember, however, that in face of the threats we are dealing with, the dictate of the moment is to recognize absolutely that conflicts and emotions are issues which must be put into the background. In the foreground should be the mobilization of all forces in order, together with our nation, to prevent that dangerous course of events which may bring an irrevocable situation.

Kania Comments During Debates

LD310616 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Excerpts] As announced, we shall now broadcast an extensive report on the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum which ended at dawn today.

Commenting during the debate on some of the proposals which had been made at the plenum, Stanislaw Kania said that just as during the entire period which began with the end of the very difficult strike phase of the August crisis, everything today is being done to prevent further acute social tensions. This is our attitude toward the threatened strike, he said. You have voiced from this rostrum your fears; we sharethem with you fully.

Every mass conflict brings dangers--dangers connected with the possibility of losing control over it, whatever the intentions are of those involved. Therefore, all these fears are fully founded. We have our experiences; they are tragic, painful and bitter.

We shall try to resolve this strike by political means. We have never had any other intentions. This has been proved by practice. We shall have to seek all that brings about a relaxation of tension. This is connected with the Bydgoszcz incident. Attached to this is a package of various other matters not directly connected with these events. It has been proposed that the Politburo should empower Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski--give him party authorization, for this is the only point here--his government, to finalize the last round of talks.

Stanislaw Kania proposed to continue the plenary debate and next stressed that issues connected with the congress be discussed by a commission which would present the results of its work.

The speaker next said that about 300 resolutions had been received through Saturday and that more than 50 letters and telegrams had arrived on Sunday from party organizations and echelons as well as private persons. Stanislaw Kania expressed the opinion that more detailed information on the resolutions could be presented by the Congress Commission. As far as the contents of the resolutions are concerned--in particular those received during the few last days before the plenum--they reflect the general great concern over the situation and the hope for a relaxation of the existing tension. Stress is laid in them on continuation of socialist renewal and on the need to act by political means. Some of the resolutions express criticism of the Politburo and stress the need to improve the cadres. The resolutions also include proposals to thoroughly explain the background and course of the Bydgoszcz events. A considerable number of them point out that the communique of the Politburo on the Bydgoszcz events was hastily drafted. Although we gave a political assessment of these events in the communique, continued the first secretary of the party Central Committee, we stressed that our assessment is based on the information we received. The details will be investigated by a commission set up by Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski. The resolutions also indicate the differences in the conditions for convening [odmiennosc warunkow zwolania] the ninth congress and the necessity to carry out a report-back and election campaign in the party as a whole.

Grabski on 'Provocateurs'

LD301344 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0745 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Speech by Tadeusz Grabski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at the 29 March Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum--read by announcer]

[Text] The escalation of tension that has been going on for several months has now reached the most dangerous state of being a threat to the country. According to the fairly universal feeling of the community, the reasons for the current crisis are seen in the divisions which allegedly exist in the party leadership and among the nameless provocateurs who are thwarting the process of renewal. I am an advocate of continuing to try to reach agreement, of dialogue, of concessions and compromise, but there is a limit--demarcated by socialism, the supreme goals of the political system , our alliances and of belonging to the family of socialist states--to our alliances inclusively.

The point of the matter at present is not in a division in the party into those for renewal and hardliners. The borders and lines of division are being outlined clearly between the goals which are being aimed for by various social forces propagating slogans of renewal.

The course of the sinister events in the country clearly strengthens one's conviction that for some, renewal means socialism without deformation and degeneration, whereas for others renewal means a constant destabilization of political, social and economic life, the gradual but systematic dismantling of the socialist state, and finally, in the not too distant future, the taking over of power.

After the Eighth Central Committee Plenum the struggle for power by counterrevolutionary forces has been gaining pace and scope. There is a clear development of this struggle. Dyarchy has now become a fact. A political struggle, which is the most difficult and sharpest in the 36 years of People's Poland, is in progress. At the same time psychological, physical and sometimes even militant [bojowkarski] terror is intensifying against people who manifest attitudes of civic restraint and responsibility, in particular against activists and party and leadership cadres.

The violent behavior, anarchy, chaos and adventurism conducted by certain Solidarity links, through their indirect and direct effects, strike at the foundations of the state's economic existence.

At least a partial answer is given to the question of what their real intentions are, of what socialism and what renewal mean to them by the sources of foreign aid, by the itineraries and foreign contacts of a considerable number of Solidarity activists and advisers and by the contents of interviews given while abroad. An exposure of the designs, which are no longer covert, of the counterrevolutionary forces and of the threats to Poland and socialism is made more difficult by the confusion which is also being caused within party ranks and by slanderous propaganda activity, the aim of which is to undermine confidence in the authorities.

The Bydgoszcz matter has become the latest pretext, but only and exclusively a pretext. I would not be a communist and I would not be true to myself if I did not state that I support the evaluation of the origins and the political explanation of the background of the Bydgoszcz events which are contained in the Politburo statement of 22 March.

In presenting in the most general manner my evaluations and stand regarding the most vital interests of the party, I put the party functions I have been entrusted with at the disposal of the Central Committee.

Deputy Defense Minister Speech

LD201520 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Speech by Lt Gen Jozef Baryla, member of the Central Committee, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army at the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum held on 29 March--read by announcer]

[Text] Currently we ought to concentrate, above all, on the party: on strengthening its ideological and organizational unity, on a resolute improvement of its offensive qualities and efficiency of its action. We must concentrate on strengthening the state. We must improve selection of our cadres, create conditions facilitating honest work and the conscientious implementation of civic duties; strengthen its alliances, particularly with the Soviet Union, protect its material and spiritual achievements, and resolutely oppose the creation of dual power, for which there can be no room. We should raise the esteem in which law is held. A consistent and indivisible respect for the law and the principles of socialist legality is connected with the strengthening of the state.

The speaker pointed to the main strength of the party, to be found in our ideology: Marxism-Leninism, internationalist support of the fraternal parties, and in many thousands of party members and broad masses of the people. Among these forces he also included the Polish People's Army which has always resolutely come out in favor of socialist renewal in our country and of constant strengthening of socialist democracy.

We are fully aware that by protecting our party, we are, at the same time, defending the values which the party is faithfully implementing.

The Armed Forces, commanded by General Jaruzelski, are ideologically cohesive and politically mature, well trained and have good discipline. We in the Armed Forces have used the period that has passed since the Eighth Central Committee Plenum in an efficient manner to strengthen further the army's party and youth organizations and all the links of official and public action which determine the high combat readiness of the Armed Forces.

The interallied Soyuz-81 exercises, currently underway, confirm this yet again. By their skills and a dignified patriotic and internationalist attitude, the soldiers prove they are always ready to defend socialism in the same way in which they are ready to defend Poland's independence, stated Lt Gen Jozef Baryla, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Army.

Jablonski Speech

LD301808 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0834 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Report on speech by Henryk Jablonski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of State, on 29 March at Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum--read by announcer]

[Text] Henryk Jablonski, member of the party Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the State Council, said: Every plenum of the Central Committee is, or at least ought to be, an important, and at turning points, a momentous event in the life of the party, and indirectly, of the nation.

Recent plenums have been of that nature without any doubt. Today's plenum should be like that. We are now faced with the great threat of a general strike. Such is the reality--painful, dangerous, capable of causing incalculable results. Responsibility for dealing with this situation rests not only with the Central Committee, not only with the Politburo which is responsible to it, although no doubt special duties do rest with the party, and not only with the government, but also all organized social forces, especially when their real strength is great. This naturally applies to trade unions, and clearly to Solidarity. This stand can also provide a basis for dialogue. We would like to, and we must, strive with the best will to achieve understanding and necessary compromises. But at the same time we must convey to our partners in talks the conviction that they too must strive to reach agreement.

We have not done all we should have done to bring to the minds of the greatest masses of our people the issues over which the struggle is being waged in Poland and what that struggle might cost. It is high time for the discussion to be taken to fundamental issues of the life of our state and nation, issues on which will depend what we mean by renewal in economy and public life.

Our country's main political force cannot avoid this because by doing so it would fail to perform its duty, Henryk Jablonski said. One of the general and immensely topical theses of socialist democracy is the rule of law, the universal and absolute duty on the part of every citizen to obey the law. Only then shall we be able to talk about the second--after the power of the people--principle of democracy: the equality of all citizens. The issue should be put simply and clearly: All breaches of the law, no matter who commits them--be they representatives of the organs of authorities or anyone else--must be condemned and punished otherwise they will weaken the state and disorganize public life. So no one must be allowed to violate the law. It is against this background that we must consider the Bydgoszcz affair, too.

But there is a special problem which has outraged our public opinion so greatly. For the first time since the start of the crisis bodily harm was done to people. Those guilty must be made to answer so that state authorities are not thought to be to blame, to the cost of the whole community.

Another important matter: We say and write far too little about the broader aspects of the question of disrespect for the law, whereas the generalities we proclaim about the anarchy that threatens because of this, anarchy which our press occasionally describes as excessively exuberant democracy, do not find a ready ear among the public. In fact anarchy is a denial of democracy and this is why making its manifestations public is defending democracy. To defend it, we must also have a strong state authority. Poland increasingly needs full social activity. This is an undeniable truth, but it must happen in an atmosphere of calm and work. We can count on these only when, above all, all party members and all party branches are linked by an active attitude toward the dangers which are threatening not only our system but also our state and people.

Our election-report-back campaign and preparations for the congress should serve this end. Consolidation of the party would not be possible had it not been for the development and consolidation of all forms of socialist democracy, proper relations between state authorities and institutions of self-government, and relations between all those institutions and various trade unions, Henryk Jablonski said.

Tejchma Address

LD301422 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0915 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Speech by Jozef Tejchma, member of the PZPR Central Committee and minister of culture and art, at the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum held on 29 March--read by announcer]

[Text] I support the position adopted by Comrade Kania that averting the general strike is a problem of foremost and elementary importance. It does not depend on us alone. However, we, on our part, must do all we can during Monday's talks so that this strike is called off. Another task if this: The party should, in the Sejm, regain the support for the government and its program. It is a good thing that the chairman of the Council of Ministers enjoys confidence and hopes are focused on him. It is very, very important for the plenum results to constitute a discernible stimulus, no matter how small, for activization and consolidation of our ranks and branches at all levels. A decision must be made on the date on which the congress is to be convened: This is an extraordinarily important thing to do. The chance for a rebirth of Poland's economic development on the basis of the foundation of production potential and scientific-technological potential is to be found within the next few years.

If all of us want more democracy in the party, this means that we want more discussions and more clashes of opinion.

However, it is impossible to carry on discussions in a way which assumes beforehand whereby, let us say, someone is eager to protect his own position and hence is afraid of discussions and democracy. But people who hold positions today have a rough ride and will continue to have a rough ride. Maybe today we should respect people rather than be suspicious of them for the reason that they wish to shoulder responsibility in connection with the position they happen to occupy.

I attach very great importance to an efficient introduction of food coupons, to a declaration of a state of emergency as far as the market is concerned, as far as the goods in short supply are concerned. A possible collapse of the rationing system would constitute a final confirmation of our incompetence.

If we come through the dangers nearest at hand, the party's power will, later on, be built according to the principle: less words, more deeds, so that the propaganda of restraint in one's use of words and of verifiable deeds will be a propaganda success.

Werblan Advocates Renegotiating

LD301754 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0925 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Now here are excerpts from the speech made at the Central Committee plenum by Andrzej Werblan, member of the Central Committee and director of the Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism:

He said, among other things: The line of the sixth plenum, the line of socialist renewal, was and remains the opportunity of the nation and the party. In particular for party activists it provides an opportunity for mending errors and for rectifying the paths of past policy. However, the line found itself in a crisis situation although the party and the majority of the nation continue to support it.

The fundamental question is: Why do extremist views obtain an easy hold over the activities of Solidarity, bringing about unrestrained demands and the choice of extreme, radical methods of struggle for the meeting of these demands, which assume the form of an ultimatum and are even contrary to the law?

It is possible to weaken the influence of extreme views in Solidarity only through a broad, overall compromise with its moderate majority, through something of the kind of a renegotiation of the agreements. This is still possible and such opportunities are connected with Wojciech Jaruzelski's government with his 10-point program. We should assist in the work of this government and of its chief, assuring it the necessary independence and freedom of maneuver.

The second proposal concerns the urgency to heal the rift which is beginning to take shape between the grassroots and the party's voivodship and central bodies. An open attitude toward the grassroots movement will more likely strengthen than damage party unity.

Later Andrzej Werblan stated: Poland's existence and its security are based on the durability of results attained after World War II, the victory over Nazism and on the alliance with the Soviet Union. Our party will best discharge its duty toward this alliance if it resolves our problems and extricates the country from the crisis alone, with the use of its own forces, through an agreement with the nation.

Gorski on Higher Education

LD301440 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1024 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Statement by Janusz Gorski, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee and minister of science, higher education and technology, at the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum debate on 29 March in Warsaw--read by announcer]

[Text] The situation in higher education is fairly well known. We tried to be ahead of certain potential directions of demands made by the higher education system relatively early. However, when one thinks back, it seems that we did not perceive the fact that we left certain loopholes in our activities aimed at deepening the self-government and autonomy of higher education establishments. The opponent has exploited these loopholes by causing strikes under the vociferous slogan "Struggle for the Autonomy and Self-Government of Higher Education Establishments." It seems that if we had foreseen the directions of the potential threat somewhat earlier it would have been possible to avert strikes or to have these strikes solely under clear political slogans.

We have already prepared a new draft law on higher education. We wish to hand it over for legislation quickly. In this law and in others we are preparing, we can see certain guarantees that the process of self-government and autonomy in the sphere of science is a permanent process. We are discussing the greatest problem, namely: What can pose a threat to us tomorrow? We favor a political solution, but such a solution must always be a political solution within the framework of definite conditions. In this context the excessive stressing of this fact weakens our negotiating positions to some extent.

We must be aware that our partner in the discussions should also favor a political solution of the conflict. So, while stressing our willingness to use political methods, it must be remembered that there are naturally certain principles from which we cannot depart.

More Plenum Speeches

LD301526 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Here are summaries of a few speeches delivered at the ninth party plenum.

Jerzy Bielecki, candidate member of the Central Committee, director of the automobile factory [FSO] in Warsaw, said:

The growing tensions, the deepening political and economic crises, lead the rank-and-file members of the party to very critically appraise the work of the Central Committee, the leadership of the party and the Politburo.

In their opinion, the last 6 months was a period of time when in the leadership of the party there were many signs of indecision, when urgent and imperative decisions were delayed. Some rank-and-file members of the party receive with great anxiety information about alleged conflicts within the highest ranks of the party.

We are expecting that the all-round knowledge of the events in Bydgoszcz will lead to the just punishment of all those guilty of the events that occurred. We are expecting that persons who through their activities--irrespective of the side they are on in this matter, they are attacking Poland, socialist Poland, and slowing down the process of progressive transformations--will be publicly condemned.

There is at present a critical appraisal of the preparatory work for the ninth party congress, as well as the fact that the planned date for holding it will not be adhered to.

We are moving that today's Central Committee plenum should declare the immediate opening of the report-back campaign at all echelons of the party and fix the date by which the campaign should be completed.

We are also expecting more active steps by members of the central leadership, by party authorities, and an enlivenment of their contacts with the working class, particularly with the large enterprises.

It is imperative to fix the date of the congress, as well the submitting to public discussion of the theses for the congress, and the introduction of determined actions which facilitate proving the fact that we are continuing the process of the socialist renewal of our party, said the director of FSO, Jerzy Bielecki.

Speaking on formal matters, candidate member of the Central Committee, Zbigniew Glowacki, proposed that the plenary discussion should end and that four groups be set up which would formulate the party program in four points.

He stated that this concerns the position of the Central Committee on the announced general strike in Poland, party powers for the deputy premier, Mieczyslaw Rakowski and the committee which is holding the talks, the attitude of the Central Committee plenum toward the state of preparations for the congress, inclusive of matters connected with discussions on formulation of the statute and election ordinance; and on acquainting the plenum with all the resolutions which are coming in from party organizations and echelons, and also from social organizations.

Jerzy Skalski, member of the Central Committee, engineer at the locomotive works of the state railroads in Zounska Wola-Karsznice, in Sieradz Voivodship, was the next to speak. He said, among other things: At many party meetings there is solicitude in discussions about the party and the nation. Party comrades cannot stand the pressure. The aktiv is breaking down. Today's plenum must say firmly that there is no Poland without a party and socialism.

Comrades have empowered me to appeal from this tribune to the entire working class, to all Poles, to Solidarity, to make the day of 31 March a day of conciliation and of victory for dialogue.

The party must work decisively and if it is to be responsible for the country and the nation, it has to be strong and stand on strong legs.

On behalf of all members of his party organization, the speaker told the premier, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, that they were supporting the government program.

Stanislaw Kociolek, the first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, stressed that irrespective of the difficulties of the appraisal of events in Bydgoszcz, the law should decide in favor of those who have suffered. He then stated that the Central Committee Politburo communique, especially with regard to the question of party members' attitudes on strikes to the duty of defending the legal and constitutional order, is correct.

We are aware of the fact that all members of the party, workers, employees who have to make the decision on strikes, he said, find themselves in a dramatic situation. They are making the choice in conformity with the sense of workers' and employees' solidarity. We must find a kind of solution which will stop the wave of unceasing strikes, which are all political and which force workers--our comrades--to make this dramatic choice.

Stanislaw Kociolek referred to the speeches made by previous speakers, supporting their views that it is necessary to carry out in the party a general report-back and election campaign, which very many comrades, he said, and this includes me, believe that we have the duty to submit to this party verification, both regarding merits as well as moral norms. The speaker thought that the majority of the discussions to date on economic problems were petty. So far, he stressed, there has not been created a current of real concentration of forces of the party, the economic administration and the trade unions for the solution of these issues. If we do not achieve an overall social agreement among all the forces which have or can have an influence on the problems of the country, in a very short time there will develop a state of actual socioeconomic and political chaos.

Expressing his view on those voices in discussion which criticized the work of the Politburo, Stanislaw Kociolek stressed that this is a problem which has developed spontaneously in the party and very many organizations and speakers took it up through a sense of duty toward their comrades, with the best possible intentions. But it also has happened, he continued, that there were moves initiated and organized outside the party. This had also affected proceedings at the plenum.

Stressing that in recent months he had the occasion to observe the work of the Politburo and, in particular, the work of Comrade Kania, the speaker stated: I could not accept, without a personal opinion on it, such a sharp, critical evaluation which was formulated during the days preceding the plenum. This also applies to the present Central Committee plenum. It is important to resolve personnel matters but decisions on personnel are only a help. They do not solve everything.

Further Speech Summaries

LD301324 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0712 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] So far, in our radio broadcasts we have carried over a dozen summaries of speeches made at the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. Now we carry three more summaries.

Wlodzimierz Trzebiatowski, Central Committee member and director of the Wroclaw international laboratory of strong magnetic pulses and of low temperatures, said:

We are now at the peak of the social conflict, and at the same time, in the depths of the economic crisis. There are only two ways out of this situation. The first, to use force, and this would lead the country to a civil war; the second, to provide agreements based on compromise, with a proper evaluation of the situation in the country based on real negotiations and without ultimatums supported by threats of a general strike, which would lead the country into final chaos.

We can save the country only through intensive work of our hands and minds. No one else will do it for us. For this we need calm.

We are all placing great hopes on the government of General Jaruzelski, who has to define the borders of compromise which cannot be crossed.

On the other hand, the leadership of Solidarity, if it wants to retain calm in the country, cannot make demands which cannot be conceded by any government, taking into consideration the fact that we have a specific system, that we are members of the socialist bloc.

Referring to the still undetermined date of the Ninth PZPR Congress, the speaker quoted the resolution of the party conference of the Academy of Economics in Wroclaw.

We do not agree, the resolution says among other things, to delaying the congress, which should take place on time for the election of a new Central Committee and of a fully reliable leadership.

The extraordinary PZPR congress should sit in two sessions. During the first, the congress should introduce changes into the PZPR statute which would guarantee the subjectivity [podmiotowsc] of the working class, the democratic system of the election of party authorities: It should instruct the newly-elected Central Committee to convene within 2 months the second round of the congress for the full formulation of the party program.

Jozef Blajet, Central Committee member and a turner at the Zreb-Makron construction materials machine combine, first emphasized that he has been instructed to present the 27 March resolutions of the party organization at the enterprise.

Comrades believe, he said, that the Ninth Central Committee Plenum constitutes the last chance and hope for the party. If proper decisions are not made at this plenum, then should any major tragedy happen, the nation will never forgive us--the party. This will apply to the whole party organization and not only at central level.

Naturally, this concerns the matter of avoiding the general strike that has been announced. What matters, too, is the so-called political solutions.

Comrades are of the opinion, he continued, that an opinion prevails in the nation that the process of renewal is being slowed down by the top layers of the party. The Politburo cannot decide the future of party members without their participation. Hence, the Central Committee should base its activities on the views and feelings of the basic party organizations, he continued, because throughout the party there are demands for fixing the date of the Ninth PZPR Congress. At the ninth plenum, we must definitely approve a democratic election ordinance. At the congress itself, we must approve the party statute, which previously should be submitted to general consultation among all members.

We must also finally settle accounts with all fraudulent men, irrespective of what administrative or party jobs they hold.

Comrades believe, the speaker stated, that the appraisal of the Bydgoszcz events carried out by the political bureau was premature and thus could not have been objective. We should return to this matter now after the publication of the government commission's report.

We support, Jozef Blajet said, the full text of the resolution of the sixth session of the Voivodship People's Council in Bydgoszcz dated 26 March.

We have given you speeches made in the discussion by Wlodzimierz Trzebiatowski, member of the Central Committee and by Jozef Blajet, also a member of the Central Committee.

Here is what Stanislaw Zielinski, machine minder at the Poznan H. Cegielski locomotive and rolling stock factory said:

I have been introduced to speak on behalf of the workforce of 3,500. The Politburo should today carry out an appraisal of its work--what it has done, what decisions it has made, and present the drafts which should come into force as from now--to save the fatherland. Our duty is to settle accounts with members of the party for their activities. But we must not deal only with the lower ranks; we must generally settle accounts, but with commonsense and with justice for everybody.

The fundamental question today is how to save the fatherland. If, as party activists, all together, we will not descend to the lower strata, if we do not talk in a way that the party should talk, then we cannot do anything.

That was the speech by Stanislaw Zielinski, member of the party Central Committee.

Kania-Worker Links Urged

LD301452 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] In his speech at the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, Andrzej Bolszowski, member of the Central Committee and senior master at the Rafako boiler factory in Raciborz, in Katowice Voivodship, referred to the Friday warning strike and said he believed that next time the men who organized a strike will ponder deeply over their decision.

Andrzej Bolszowski addressed the premier, saying that after the Bydgoszcz events he is convinced that the premier will publicly appear before television cameras to put the nation's mind at rest. The people expected it, said the speaker, and it is a bad thing that this did not happen. Every day you should be with the working man since your presence there has a very good effect on improving the climate. This was confirmed by your stay among the miners of Katowice Voivodship. Be consistent in action designed to improve our life.

The speaker submitted a motion that the Central Committee and the party leadership should, at least once a year, consult freely with all party members in a direct and anonymous way. The results of the poll should be published in the party press.

At one of the earlier Central Committee plenary sessions, Stanislaw Kania stated that at least during each plenum he will meet the workers. Only one such meeting materialized and it is a pity since as he said himself it yielded a great deal to himself and to us.

Andrzej Bolszowski continued: There are continuous delays in convening the extraordinary ninth party congress. No one knows when it is to be held. No one has explained logically and in detail why the date for convening the congress has not been kept. I would like to hear such an explanation and on such a basis I may be able to vote on the postponement of the congress.

Ocean Lines Worker Speaks

LD301748 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0834 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Extracts from speech by Czeslaw Drozdowicz, member of the PZPR Central Committee and bosun at the Polish Ocean Lines of Gdynia, on 29 March at Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum--read by announcer]

[Text] Czeslaw Drozdowicz, member of the Central Committee and bosun at the Polish Ocean Lines of Gdynia said, among other things: The main cause of the sociopolitical crisis which we have all been living through for the past few months, and of the dramatic economic situation of our country, is the failure to draw right conclusions from the crises of previous years. Today we cannot afford to repeat these mistakes because we know only too well, especially on the coast, the great price we have to pay for them. This new look at our party's activity was reflected in, among other things, the results of the election-report-back campaign which has already ended in the largest enterprises of Gdansk Voivodship. It was notable that the campaign gave full approbation to party documents prepared by the voivodship Congress Commission with genuine participation of primary party organizations, and that it produced the demand for the speeding up of the convening of the Ninth PZPR Congress.

We see in the congress the sole opportunity for consolidating and overcoming our internal weakness. It is the elementary duty of the party at all its levels to determine the responsibility for mistakes and distortions, to remove from party ranks people who lower the party's standing by their actions.

The people of the coast attach great moral and political importance to the publication of the findings of the commission investigating the December events.

The speaker then referred to the motions made by party members. Much dissatisfaction was occasioned by the decree dated 5 October 1972 dealing with returned pay provisions for people occupying leading political and state posts and members of their families. Demands have been made that party posts should not be combined with those in administration. A lack of reliable information about the situation in Poland has been indicated.

GDANSK PLENUM DEMANDS RADICAL POLITBURO CHANGES

LD301512 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Gdansk/Gdynia, 30 Mar (PAP)--An open plenum of the PZPR works committee, with the participation of representatives of party organizations from other plants and universities in the coastal region, was held in the Gdansk shipyard on Sunday.

After the Politburo report had been heard, there was an expression of disapproval of its content as not being in accordance with the feelings of the party rank-and-file. Radical changes in the composition of the Politburo were demanded. A letter was sent to Stanislaw Kania, in which we read among other things: The assembled...express their belief that the decisions of the ninth plenum define an effective platform of cooperation for all Poles. We appeal...to all thinking groups of the nation, to the party authorities and trade union organizations to carry through to a conclusion negotiations on the issue of the conflict brought about by the Bydgoszcz provocation. We demand that the political background to that provocation be revealed and that the guilty be made an example of, regardless of the posts they hold or their standing and membership of organizations.

There was support for the statements at the plenum demanding profound changes in the party leadership; the convening of an extraordinary congress without delay preceded by the democratic election of delegates. The demand was made that genuine working people be introduced into the Politburo who would guarantee a true representation of the attitudes and views of party members in general and the whole of Polish society.

GENERAL STRIKE CALLED OFF; STATEMENT ISSUED

Strike Canceled

LD301736 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Now, last-minute news: We learn from our correspondent that representatives of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of the NSZZ Solidarity, after the completion of today's talks with the Council of Ministers' Commission for Trade Union Affairs, decided at 1900 to cancel [wstrzymac] the general strike announced for tomorrow.

It has been decided to convene the KKP of Solidarity in the powers of which rests, in conformity with the KKP decision of 24 March, the final decision concerning the calling off of the general strike.

The meeting of the KKP of Solidarity will be held tomorrow.

'Joint Statement'

LD301934 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 30 Mar 81

["Text" of "joint statement" on results of talks between the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of the NSZZ Solidarity and the Council of Ministers' Commission for Trade Union Affairs]

[Text] The two sides, motivated by a deep concern for the fate of our homeland, have undertaken joint action to remove the causes of the grave sociopolitical crisis.

On the matter of the events in Bydgoszcz: Having studied the report made by the commission, led by Jerzy Bafia, minister of justice, and having studied the course of the session of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship People's Council which was held on 26 March, the government accepted that the session of the voivodship People's Council was adjourned without the legal regulations in force having been observed, and that the use of the forces of law and order to remove Solidarity representatives from the building of the voivodship officers amounted to an action contrary to the principles, accepted and observed until now, of dealing with social conflict by political means, above all by means of negotiations.

The atmosphere of tension which arose in Bydgoszcz as a result of the occupation of the ZSL building and of the propaganda campaign conducted by the Bydgoszcz Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] on the day before the session was called, provides some justification for the hasty action taken by the authorities.

In this situation the authorities feared that the scale of conflict would become graver and wider.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers, having acquainted himself with the stand taken by the voivodship People's Council in relation to the attitude taken and role played by the deputy voivodas, will make appropriate decisions.

The government expects the voivodship People's Council to declare its view in this matter in the first half of April. The government is positively inclined toward the request for a full presentation of the events in Bydgoszcz on television by Solidarity representatives. This has already been expressed by the publication of the government commission's report, together with comments of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of the NSZZ Solidarity. The two sides have agreed that the press will publish, before 5 April, the communique dated 19 March issued by the voivodship peoples councillors and Solidarity.

The government fully accepts the government commission's findings that the forces of law and order which entered the voivodship office building and took over control of the building and its surroundings had a duty to ensure the security and inviolability of persons who were being led out of the building. The reason for this is that in such situations the forces of law and order carry the responsibility for the persons under their supervision.

In accordance with demands made by the MKZ for the region of Bydgoszcz, the government has ordered an investigation into the actions of persons who failed in their duties, and for persons under investigation to be suspended from duty.

The government expresses its regret that three trade union activists were beaten. An investigation is in progress, aimed at establishing the identity of those responsible for the beating and at instituting criminal proceedings against them. When the investigation is completed those responsible will be brought before the courts in accordance with the law.

Instructions have been issued for an energetic investigation to be conducted by the Bydgoszcz Voivodship public prosecutor's office under the surveillance of the public Prosecutor General's Office, ensuring the participation of representatives of Solidarity during the preparatory proceedings and during court proceedings. The adoption of all these measures has been dictated to the state authorities by the law.

The government believes that a strict observance of the law is necessary at all times, but is particularly important on occasions involving social tensions when the conduct of all those involved may result from emotions and uncontrolled reflexes.

The government requires all representatives of the authorities to be punctilious in observing the law and in having thorough control over the legality of all their actions.

The government takes the stand that public and professional organizations, including Solidarity, will not endanger the internal peace of the country by any activities contrary to the law, as for instance, the taking over and occupation of public buildings.

The government states that in order to reduce social tensions all special units of the civic militia have been withdrawn from the territory of Bydgoszcz and its vicinity.

Point 2: [as heard: Point 1 not given] On the issue of ensuring guarantees for the activities of trade unions, in the spirit of the social accords of August 1980 and referred to in demands two and five of NSZZ Solidarity, it has been decided:

To speed up work on the trade union law so that its draft can be submitted to the Sejm by the end of April 1981;

Until the law is adopted both sides undertake to be guided by the principles of the law, prepared by a team set up by the Council of State, including representatives of NSZZ Solidarity; this concerns, in particular, settling collective disputes by arbitration and the issue of payment for the duration of strikes.

Point 3: Both sides will do everything in their power in order that, on the subject of the association of individual farmers, conflict situations should not develop. Both sides take cognizance of the initiative of the Sejm deputy, Jan Szczepanski, chairman of the special Sejm commission for monitoring social agreements, who, as a matter of urgency, will submit for examination by the commission matters concerning association by individual farmers.

On the basis of the draft of the trade union law and the draft of the law on agricultural self-government, the government has already adopted a number of decisions and measures which ensure the implementation of the demands deriving from the accords with individual farmers and with the executive council of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles, as well as the accords arrived at in Rzeszow and Ustrzyki Dolne.

By 5 April, the government will send a team, in consultation [w porozumieniu] with the executive council of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles, to conduct talks with individual farmers taking part in a protest action in the building of the ZSL Voivodship Committee in Bydgoszcz.

The government states that until the issue is settled, the legality of action taken by persons taking part in the protest action in Bydgoszcz, as well as NSZZ founding committees, will not be questioned.

Point 4: On the matter of demand three made by the NSZZ Solidarity, in accordance with the principles of fully observing the freedom of expressing views in public and professional life and to which item four of the Gdansk agreement refers, it has been decided:

First, to accept the statement made by Deputy Jan Szczepanski, chairman of the special Sejm commission for monitoring social agreements, that the above-mentioned matter will become the subject of the commission's business at its next session;

Second, to appoint, before 10 April this year, a team consisting of representatives of the government and the NSZZ Solidarity, who will prepare documents and proposals for discussion by the Sejm commission.

Point 5: The government has offered, once the present conflict has ended, to enter into negotiations in order to reach agreement about the whole complex of mutual relations in order to make it possible to solve all conflicts which might arise in the future, without reducing the whole country to a state of tension threatening catastrophic results.

Representatives of the NSZZ Solidarity state that a rapid implementation by the government of all obligations represents an essential condition for the unification of all social forces for the purpose of leading Poland out of its economic and social crisis, in accordance with the 10-point program of Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski's government.

In the event of a cancellation of the general strike, the minister of labor, wages and welfare will request the chairman of the Council of Ministers to pay for hours not worked as a result of participation in the warning strike on 27 March this year, and at the same rate as that payable for hours of justified absence.

Walesa Press Conference

LD310024 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2315 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Mar (PAP)--After the completion of talks between members of the leadership of the trade union Solidarity and the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs, Lech Walesa, chairman of the National Consultative Commission (KKP) of Solidarity, met a group of Polish and foreign journalists at the INTERPRESS agency press center in Warsaw. Answering (?numerous) questions, L. Walesa reported that representatives of the National Consultative Commission had decided to suspend the general strike called for 31 March.

L. Walesa also said that further decisions on the question would be taken by the KKP of Solidarity [words indistinct] 31 March at 1600. We could not decide such an important question in such a small group, he noted, since the agreement has to be clearly [words indistinct]. I consider it a major agreement. But there are questions, however, that we did not decide and about which our members can be [words indistinct]. I am not speaking about satisfaction--it is only 70 percent. [sentence as received]

L. Walesa went on to say that the simple fact of starting the talks was a compromise, and compromise probably does not (?satisfy) everyone. Agreement was reached on almost every topic.

The chairman of the KKP said that the trade union's program of action is first of all a charter [words indistinct] role of the church in solving the latest conflict. Pope John Paul II and Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski personally involved themeselves in the matter.

Further on Press Conference

LD302312 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 30 Mar 81

["Excerpts" of press conference given on 30 March by Lech Walesa, chairman of the National Consultative Commission of the NSZZ Solidarity, and Andrezej Gwiazda, member of the Solidarity and signatory of the Gdansk agreement of August 1980, in the INTERPRESS offices in Warsaw after talks between Solidarity and the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs; questioners unidentified--recorded]

[Text] [Question] Are you pleased that tomorrow will be a normal work day?

[Walesa] Ladies and gentlemen, I cannot speak about my satisfaction; I am at the head of this movement and the National Consultative Commission will express its opinion together with the union activists and work enterprises.

I think that it was a great agreement [words indistinct], but there are things that we did not sort out and about which our members may have some complaints. That is why I am not speaking about the satisfaction [words indistinct].

[Question] [Words indistinct] about which the members might have complaints?

[Walesa] [Answer indistinct].

[Question] Was it necessary to use such a powerful argument as the threat of the general strike to deal with these issues?

[Walesa] You must remember the resolution which says that in case of attacks on union activists or against the union itself, an immediate strike in the region or a general strike (?can be declared). However, reason has won on our side and we gave quite a lot of time for the government and the administration to get ready. [Passage indistinct]

[Question] May I ask the question: What is Solidarity like now and what will it be like in the future?

[?Walesa] (?This is not the trade union yet). As a matter of fact this is still a social movement. That is why as union activists we want to make out of this social movement (?proper) trade unions. Here we notice that there should be other organizations which would relieve the burden; today we have no such organizations and therefore we have to deal with matters which are not typically trade union matters. Of course, there are lots of such matters and that is why we have such difficulties and that is why we do not always protest about the issues which are clearly union issues.

But such is life and life forces us to use this type of activity. [Passage indistinct]

[Question] How long has the general strike been postponed for?

[Walesa] Only--and strictly--until the session of the National [Consultative] Commission which meets at 1600 [tomorrow] in Gdansk. [Passage indistinct].

[Question] The point concerning prisoners in Poland--what about this subject?

[Walesa] It will be included in the statement which we shall [word indistinct] publish but which has not reached (?you) yet. There is a point there based on the fourth point of the Gdansk agreement. (?We understand) that some kind of a Sejm commission is to be established [words indistinct] which will look after this point very carefully.

[Question] I have two questions. [Words indistinct] the matter of Rural Solidarity, or the trade union for farmers, has not been dealt with: Does this mean that this (?point) has been (?suspended)?

[Walesa] No, [words indistinct] we have it in writing that until this issue is resolved by the Sejm these activists are guaranteed security and their action will not be obstructed. This is, therefore, a considerable achievement. All these things, as we understand, are conditioned by the (?promise) that there will be no general strike. [Passage indistinct]

[Question] What is your attitude toward the possibility of implementing the 90 days of calm which were proposed by Premier Jaruzelski?

[Walesa] As far as I am concerned I would like my whole life to be calm, not just 90 days. But remember, we have matters to deal with and we must deal with them.

Rakowski on 'Smooth Cooperation'

LD310240 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Excerpts] As we have previously reported, representatives of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of the NSZZ Solidarity, after talks with the Committee for Trade Union Affairs of the Council of Ministers, decided to suspend the general strike called for today. Deputy Premier Rakowski was asked by journalists as to whether the signing of the statement on the talks should be considered a success for both sides. He replied: Yes, but this must be confirmed by future events. As far as the government side is concerned, we have no other goal than to achieve truly smooth cooperation between trade union organizations and the government.

'NORMAL RHYTHM OF WORK' PREVAILING IN COUNTRY

LD311158 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1130 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Text] Reports coming in from different parts of the country indicate that a normal rhythm of work prevails. But the state of strike readiness, which had been announced in response to the appeal of the National Consultative Commission of NSZZ Solidarity, has, as yet, not been cancelled everywhere.

TRYBUNA LUDU APPEALS FOR SENSE OF RESPONSBILITY

LD271208 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 27 Mar 81

[TRYBUNA LUDU commentary by Jerzy Bielecki: "Responsibility for the Fate of Mankind"]

[Text] At times we misuse big words. But today there are none big enough to describe the seriousness of the situation, the gigantic responsibility for the fate of the nation--a responsibility shared by all: party members, nonparty members, unionists, regardless of their functions and affiliations, believers and nonbelievers. What does unite us at this difficult time is a deep patriotism and a concern for the good of our socialist fatherland, for its very being, for the continuation of the praiseworthy tradition of the Poles, who always and everywhere have valued the ideals of progress and social justice. For 7 months now, after years of voluntarism, breaking the basic principles of socialist democracy, on behalf of the working class fundamental changes have taken place. It was the working class that opposed the deformations of socialism, and at the same time subscribed to this system, and no other, with all its strength.

There is no turning back from the road of socialist renewal which we have entered and which was proclaimed by the Sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. Such is the wish of the mass of workers in our country, reaffirmed in these stormy days by thousands of appeals and resolutions. The party as the vanguard of the working class will consistently implement the guarantees to the effect that events will take this course.

Six weeks ago, after General Jaruzelski assumed the leadership of the government, there emerged a real opportunity to accelerate the processes of renewal, lasting social peace and gradual movement away from the deep socioeconomic crisis. It was not to be an easy road. Here and there extremist opinions were voiced and actions taken, hindering the process of renewal, either through irresponsible demands, or through unrealistic and unnecessary pressure upon the government, or through dilatoriness by the relevent institutions and persons in dealing with clear-cut matters, in rectifying old errors.

Then there occurred the events in Bydgoszcz. For a week the country has been in the middle of a deep sociopolitical crisis, and it is hard to find a parallel in our recent history. For 200 days, in conditions of great conflict and difficulty, in situations of tremendous tension and at times unjustified pressure, in August on the coast, in the period of the many strikes in the fall, in the period of the well-known events in Jelenia Gora and Bielsko, even in the case of the illegal occupation of public buildings in Nowy Sacz, Reszow and Ustrzyki, patience and talks triumphed; mutual good will prevailed over emotions and resorting to other solutions.

In Bydgoszcz it was different. Party members and all society are calling for a full explanation of the course of events, for punishment of the guilty, and for society to be given information regarding the whole truth. This is the direction taken by the commission led by Minister Bafia which, at the request of Premier Jaruzelski, is to present an incisive and completely objective report. We are all awaiting the publication of the results of its work, waiting for an end to the Bydgoszcz incident. Yes, incident, a regrettable one, and we do not hesitate to say, one tragic in its consequences--witness today's general warning strike. But an incident all the same.

Our national interest, our progress and development, our position in Europe and the world, and the pride of all Poles will not permit us to treat the Bydgoszcz affair as typical. It must serve as a warning to us all: to the trade unions, who ought to respect their statutory rights, and to the administrative authorities, whose actions ought to be patient and legal. Neither Bydgoszcz nor any other matter should be allowed to slow down the process of renewal.

That must not happen. The party expresses the will of the mass of its members; communists and all working people in Poland support the socialist renewal and connect the fates of the renewed party and the whole nation with the coming extraordinary Ninth PZPR Congress.

Strike Warning Role 'Necessary'

LD281336 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 28 Mar 81

[TRYBUNA LUDU commentary by Anna Pawlowska: "Questions Still Remain"]

[Text] Friday has gone and the warning strike was held despite our commonly held--I think--hopes that it would be possible to avoid it. The strike affected all regions and almost all factories. It took place in calm and without incidents which can always pose a threat in situations of tension. It left us, all of us, and the public as a whole, with an open account, with open questions: Was it necessary, was it in proportion to the reasons behind it, was it justified in the dramatic economic conditions? These are not questions that have been concocted. After all, compromise solutions--a reduction in the period of work suspension, the leaving in operation of sections particularly important for production processes and declarations that losses would be made good--were sought in many factories and indeed were found in many.

Civic concern of the highest order often came to the surface through emotions, turmoil and indecision. Typical of the general mood on this Friday was the desire that this should be the final strike of this kind on such a scale and in such circumstances. You see, the circumstances are important and worthy of reflection also today.

The talks between the government commission and the leadership of NSZZ Solidarity were in progress. These were difficult talks which were embarked on in a climate of exasperation and inflammation but which, after all, had not been broken off by either side.

Poland is again the focus of world attention and in this world there are various interests to be dealt with, including interests which are vital if the specter of starvation is to be removed. A possibility was being outlined of clearing up and ending the Bydgoszcz conflict in a definitive manner and in accordance with sensible social postulates. So what was missing when, despite everything, the transition from strike readiness to a strike was declared? Only patience? Only confidence? One would like to believe this, for one can, however difficult this might be, still understand such motives.

Everyone who at present decides in favor of aggravating the crisis, both on a local and a national level, is burdened with enormous responsibility, the lack of which in social and political imagination cannot be justified by anything for the stakes might one day turn out to be too high. The only thing is that then it might already be too late to cover oneself with good intentions. Today, the point is not--since this does not serve any useful purpose--to deepen social divisions against the backdrop of the strike that has just taken place, to intensify human indecision, or to arouse conflicts of conscience. At any rate, this is not what the party wants.

There is no turning back from the road of renewal that has started in Polish life. And the faster we begin to achieve the planned aims along this road the faster will collective common sense prevail over collective emotions, and the faster will the awareness of the joint indivisible fate of all people living on this earth predominate over doubts and unease. The public will not agree to such a turning back and neither will the party.

The program presented by the government of Premier Jaruzelski has met with support and understanding. However, the time of expressing verbal support has passed. Deeds are what are needed now.

The government alone--without us, without all of us--will not solve any of the problems of our life which have come to a head. The dramatic appeal for days of calm and days of work was an appeal not to save the government, but to save the nation. The thought that was with us on Friday that this might be the last such day was a sensible and good thought. This thought must also be converted into action.

Conflicts and misunderstandings and disruptions of the course of events will take place because they take place all the time, everywhere, in every country and in every society. Having become more mature through our own bitter experience we now know that we cannot blur or artificially suppress these conflicts or misunderstandings. They have to be solved in a bold and discreet manner in open and honest dialogue, without the fear that this dialogue is sometimes difficult and requires sensible compromises, mutual respect and at least a minimum of trust.

Socialist renewal, the democratization of life and a social agreement can only be worked out by us and cannot be achieved by coercion, because if they are achieved by coercion they will not be the fulfillment of national hopes. One can only make people take part in mending our life by persuading them. One cannot build their activity on the basis of inciting unrest and on collective psychoses, for then our own reconstruction can turn into destruction.

It is worth thinking about all this on the day after the strike, for it is only then that the strike, despite everything, can fulfill a warning role, a role which I think is necessary.

Need for Party Unity

LD281526 Warsaw PAP in English 1420 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Mar (PAP)--"It has been a long time for a Central Committee plenum to be awaited with such hope, anxiety and rapt attention as is the ninth plenary meeting opening on Sunday," writes the PUWP Central Committee press organ TRYBUNA LUDU.

"The feeling in the party is that the process of socialist renewal, formulated and steered by the party, makes too slow a headway which facilitates the action of the politically extreme or even adventurist groups or persons intent on radically reversing the course of developments in Poland," TRYBUNA LUDU goes on.

"Emerging from the crisis, which has already reached the limits of the country's material possibilities and the people's resistance to stress, and in the direction of socialism, can be programmed and implemented only by the whole party without exception abiding by the line mapped out by the latest three meetings of the Central Committee and supported during the preparations for the PUWP Congress by the voivodship, town and factory party teams. For only such party can enjoy confidence of the working class and broad segments of the society."

ARMY PAPER COMMENTS ON HARM CAUSED BY STRIKES

Possible 'Last Chance'

LD271534 Warsaw PAP in English 1424 GMT 27 Mar 81

["Call for Reason"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Mar (PAP)--"The spectre of a destructive strike that can in no way be justified by economic premises, a strike rooted above all and solely in political motives and ambitions, is again haunting Poland," stated the Army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI today.

"The chance we now have for reaching understanding is perhaps the last chance. And nobody who still has a measure of reason, prudence and a sense of responsibility for the collective welfare of all Poles can take it lightly. This is the supreme goal, and no one is allowed to put it to a test which may have incalculable consequences.

It is high time, in the name of the most vital interests of the nation and the motherland, for all local disputes and animosities to be calmed down, and for the care for the common good to gain the upper hand over particular interests and ambitions. It is high time to put an end to the method of blowing up onto the entire country the flames of a small fire which can and should be put out at the moment of inception.

"Order, social and production discipline must prevail over chaos if we are to avoid plunging into a desperate situation with hardly predictable consequences. We must trust the political wisdom and the instinct of self-preservation of a nation so dramatically experienced as ours, and we must believe that this nation will not allow such an extreme situation to happen."

Test of Strength

LD281948 Warsaw PAP in English 1708 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Mar (PAP)--In a commentary titled "Who Wants To Destroy Our Common Home" the army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI wrote today that "we have a serious conflict on our hands. Even more than that--we have a test of strength which seems to be the main aim of actions by extremist links of Solidarity. For what could be another sense of applying such drastic forms of pressure? For who of the people having the good of the homeland in mind can decide on using the strike weapon now that the economic situation of Poland has been catastrophic? And to take such decision even before the conclusion of talks between Solidarity and the government and before having full knowledge of the causes and circumstances of the Bydgoszcz events."

"We all say today that it is necessary to reach agreement. This is an imperative. But strike will not help in reconciliation it will only make it bitter and longer," the paper said further.

"The PUWP and the government are doing the best they can to avoid a tragedy, to consistently implement the agreements, to act in the name of the national cause," wrote the daily in conclusion. "But somehow there are many who cannot understand that realization of necessary ventures requires time and peace. And many people deny the government that time and peace. Many have also abandoned the path of reconciliation to enter the road to nowhere. They are toying dangerously with our reason d'etat, our supreme value."

'LITTLE TIME' LEFT FOR SOLUTIONS TO SITUATION

LD271950 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Jerzy Bielecki commentary]

[Text] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen: As I speak these words, talks are in progress in the office of the Council of Ministers between a delegation of the NSZZ Solidarity and the government. The whole country is waiting with anxiety, but also with hope, for the outcome of these talks. This crisis must end in a dialogue, an agreement and with a way out of the impasse which we have been in for a week. Today we all experienced a difficult morning. The 4-hour warning strike affected all the key branches of the national economy and all of the country's regions. There were no incidents and calm prevailed. Where necessary, factory, social and trade union organizations adopted joint and concerted decisions about not interrupting output and not allowing strikes to take place. During these difficult morning hours, in a situation of internal indecision, common sense, self-control, restraint and, above all, responsibility yet again prevailed among many working people.

Questions--and they were by no means isolated--were asked: Why go on strike? What is the use of this? But other questions were also being asked at the same time: What is to be done? What is the way out?

When will there be a successful outcome to the talks? We would all like to give an answer to these questions as quickly as possible. I do not want to appeal for patience. I do not think anyone intends to play for time. However, let us note an indubitable fact: After what Deputy Premier Rakowski said in his statement and after Lech Walesa's answer to this statement--and both these texts are known to our listeners--no one can be in any doubt that the talks are really very difficult.

In my opinion, the Bydgoszcz incident is not the point of these talks. This incident is, without doubt, a sad incident and, as regards its consequences, a tragic incident. But it is only an incident. The point of these talks is to establish the kind of relations between the state authorities and the Solidarity trade union, which in our conditions is a very young one, which will prevent such conflicts and crises from occurring in the future so that nothing will disturb the normal rhythm of life in our country tomorrow, in a week, in a month or in 3 months, and so that we might all calmly and finally come to grips, in all seriousness, with the crisis, which is not just an economic one, and lead the country onto the straight road of development which everyone wants. We want a strong, law-abiding, wise and socialist Poland in which democracy [luddowladztwo] is the fundamental right and in which the working class and its vanguard--the party--exercise power on behalf of all working people.

This is why, in view of the fact that the situation is so serious and because matters have gone very far, it seems that these matters must be viewed from a more composite point of view and not only through the prism of the report by Minister Bafia's commission, not only on the basif of today's talks between Solidarity and the government, but also with an eye on the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, scheduled for Sunday. Appeals and resolutions urging consistent activities to ensure an atmosphere of calm and promote the honest and creative work of the nation, and appeals and resolutions urging an agreement and political solutions, and decisions for which a million-strong party and the whole of society are waiting, are directed precisely at the Central Committee.

An unambiguous answer to the question of how social tensions are to be prevented in the future, how strikes will not serve to settle controversies--they are exceptionally costly for the whole of the weakened economy--and how social calm is to be ensured lastingly in Poland must be given in the next few days. This must be preceded by a full and objective assessment of the Bydgoszcz events.

Everything I have said is only words. It is not these words which will be decisive regarding the next few days, and the future. What counts are facts, decisions and deeds. We are waiting for them. Very little time is left.

LE FIGARO SEES POLISH MOVE TO 'REGAIN CONTROL'

LD271311 Paris LE FIGARO in French 25 Mar 81 pp 1, 4

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Poland--The Brink of Rupture"]

[Excerpt] Warsaw--It is clear that nothing has been resolved. It seems unlikely that, in the political atmosphere now prevailing in Warsaw, the government, which is negotiating under a threat of strike, will agree to make any significant concessions likely to satisfy Solidarity.

Even Deputy Prime Minister Rakowski, one of the most liberal personalities in the party, has stated in an interview given to a Silesian newspaper that he is against such concessions. On the contrary, the Politburo seems increasingly ready to take a firm line.

The situation within the Politburo has been complicated by the absence of General Moczar who has been admitted to a hospital following a heart attack. Now in recent months the general has clearly lent his support to moderates among the party leadership. His absence is yet another point in favor of those who demand that a more intransigent attitude be adopted.

Therefore it would be an understatement to say that the atmosphere in Warsaw remains tense. The capital region's Solidarity organization has decided to move into the Ursus tractor plant in anticipation of strikes, in order both to prepare them and for safety reasons. On the other hand, yesterday morning control and security measures with respect to all radio and television buildings were strengthened. Some incidents have occurred here and there. For instance, Solidarity has confirmed that some militiamen have tried to tear down trade union posters in streetcars, going even so far as to strike conductors who tried to stop them and removing their badges.

According to persistent rumors, the authorities have even been considering the possibility of declaring a state of emergency. As a first step the State Council, which would also engage in a "gradual response," could decide to ban strikes in certain sectors of the economy. It has also been mentioned--and there is a close connection between the two--that the interior minister could be replaced. It has been asserted that that post could, for instance, be given to General Oliwa, deputy defense minister and commander of the Warsaw Military District.

It appears, therefore, that phase two of the scenario foreseen in Moscow on 5 December 1980, that is, at the time of the Kania-Brezhnev meeting, is to be put into effect very soon. Let us recall that during this phase control is to be reestablished over the situation in Poland by means of more brutal measures, including possible military intervention, in the event of the failure of political solutions. By appointing General Jaruzelski premier 41 days ago Kania has sought to implement a kind of phase 1A. However, it now appears that all its possibilities have been exhausted.

Paradoxically, during its first month in power the Jaruzelski government has been as successful as possible under the circumstances, managing to form an alliance among party moderates, Solidarity and the church. A Polish personality told me yesterday rather convincingly that it was, in fact, that relative success which has precipitated events since neither the party "hard-liners" nor Moscow could reconcile themselves with the prospect of stabilization in Poland with a new "establishment" of which a free trade union would be an integral part.

This might explain the speed with which the Bydgoszcz provocation was organized--for which Stefan Bratkowski, chairman of the "Association of Journalists," has openly blamed, in an open letter, party leaders opposed to a socialist renewal policy.

According to certain Polish observers, after a traumatic initial period, a program advocating a more hard-line stand and the "regaining of control" would have some chance of success since public opinion is weary and tired of continual crises, and badly affected by food shortages. "The fact that nothing now remains in the stores except for noodles and vinegar," a Warsaw personality told me quite cynically, "has increased the possibility that the population would accept a state of emergency accompanied by a rapid improvement in food supplies."

With reference to this, there have been rumors that in the past 12 days or so some food stocks have been created which could suddenly be released onto the market. If this information were to be confirmed it would indicate that the current events have, in fact, been planned since the Polish leaders' return from Moscow after the Soviet congress. Furthermore, a secret meeting last Thursday between Soviet Ambassador Aristov and Stefan Olszowski--who has long been an advocate of a restoration of control consistent with a slogan dear to him: "Yes to renewal, no to anarchy"--has aroused great interest.

LE FIGARO COMMENTARY ON CONTINUING WARSAW 'DEADLOCK'

LD271325 Paris LE FIGARO in French 26 Mar 81 pp 1,4

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Deadlock in Warsaw"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw--Around 1500 hours yesterday [Polish] Journalists' Association Chairman Stefan Bratkowski explained to me that the sudden move toward a degree of appeasement between Tuesday and Wednesday had, according to him, four main causes:

1--The Soviets' desire to avoid an open crisis in Poland.

2--The very clear awareness that the incidents sparked off in Bydgoszcz last Thursday while Mr Kania was in Budapest were directed against the current party and government leadership.

3--The very large number of protests from the party grassroots expressing support for the agreement with Solidarity--protests expressed in hundreds of messages sent to the Central Committee.

4--The church's very strong pressure in favor of appeasement. By numerous contacts at all levels, it has tried to avoid any irreparable step and make it possible to reach a last-minute compromise once again. Church dignitaries have increased their appeals for moderation to Solidarity members and have also assured the government that, if it agreed to adopt a conciliatory line, the church would undertake to guarantee the authorities that calm and order would be maintained in Poland thanks to its enormous influence in the country.

Around midday yesterday, thanks to the efforts of a group of intellectuals and a leading church figure who was acting as intermediary, agreement seemed possible. The peasants free trade union would agree to change its name (specifically, it would not mention Solidarity). Its rules would mention recognition of the realities of socialist Poland--for instance, in its constitution and its alliances--and would not mention the right to strike. It would operate chiefly within an "agricultural chamber"--a prewar body which has since been abandoned--which would comprise the cooperatives, the agricultural circles and other bodies active in rural districts, in addition to the free trade union. This compromise was approved by the government and by Premier General Jaruzelski in person, and by Solidarity. The outlook seemed brighter.

Unfortunately, at 1600 hours there was a coup de theatre: The members of the government delegation to the talks with Mr Walesa, bitter and upset, told their friends that the party leadership had not only rejected the compromise on the farmers' question at the last minute but did not authorize the delegation to discuss this matter with the Solidarity representatives.

However, there is growing pressure in the country for maintaining the policy of renewal and reforms. The most significant statement is the one made by some 140 intellectuals, Catholics and communists mixed, who are members of the Experience and Future Group [DIP] whose highly critical reports published over the past 2 years have played a major political role.

According to the DIP, the Bodgoszcz authorities either acted "in a completely irresponsible way," which raises doubts about their competence "to exercise state functions," or indulged in provocation. The document also attacks the Politburo's harsh resolution of 22 March and calls for the affair to be entrusted to a Sejm committee. In conclusion the intellectuals call on the government,the Politburo and Solidarity to show restraint.

As can be seen, although on the one hand the intransigent elements have been making their voices heard increasingly throughout the country, the moderates--"pillars of the alliance between reasonable and responsible people"--both in the party, Solidarity and the church, are aware of the tragedy threatening Poland and are now clearly determined to firmly oppose the former's efforts.

'FRG' LEAFLETS SUPPORT CREATION OF FARMERS UNION

LD282231 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Report by Warsaw radio's Gdansk correspondent]

[Text] Today leaflets in German have appeared in the streets of Gdansk. They are signed by an organization AKON Defense Action [AKCJA obronnicza] and the union of West German landowners based in the FRG.

The leaflets state that the revisionist organizations in the FRG support the NSZZ Solidarity and Polish farmers who want to create their own trade union. We read in one of the leaflets: We know that many Polish farmers look after our farms well, the farms which are temporarily under [words indistinct] administration. End of quote. Faced with this obvious provocation, the plants commission of the NSZZ Solidarity, the party organization and the management of the Lenin Shipyard expressed at a meeting with journalists, on behalf of the workforce, their deep outrage and condemnation of this kind of activity. The statement says that the action constitutes yet another provocation aimed at the government of Premier Jaruzelski and all the people who desire renewal and peace in our country. We demand, we read in the statement, that the proper organs undertake action to uncover the instigators and perpetrators of this provocation.

This statement is also signed by the workforce of the northern shipyard named after heroes of Westerplatte.

At the same time the National Strike Committee [KSS] of NSZZ Solidarity, with headquarters in Gdansk, has sent a telex to Premier Jaruzelski informing him about the appearance of these leaflets which also claim that Solidarity members are in constant contact with AKON and other organizations of this kind. The KSS states, I quote: This idiotic drivel [breonie] distributed in Gdansk is clearly aimed at slandering Solidarity activists in the eyes of the community. The telex also contains a demand for the proper state organs to begin energetic action to uncover the authors of this provocation.

Leaflets Appear in Bydgoszcz

LD300932 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Now a piece of news from Bydgoszcz:

Our correspondent has been told by a representative of the National Strike Committee of the independent, self-governing trade union of individual farmers that pamphlets have appeared in this town written in German and distributed by unknown persons. These pamphlets speak of a return of landowners to their farms in Poland nad of the employment of and payments to Polish individual farmers.

These materials are signed by the Association of West German Landowners and by the independent association of former landowners on the other side of the Odra and Nysa and Sudetan Mountains who are loyal to the fatherland.

In connection with this fact the National Strike Committee of the independent, self-governing trade union of individual farmers has submitted a statement in which it demands that the perpetrators of this provocation be apprehended as quickly as possible.

GDANSK FOODSHOPS EMPTY; FOOD RATIONING EXTENDED

LD271512 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] [Dateline not supplied] Due to the fact that food supplies have been inadequate for a long time and due to panic buying, the shelves in Gdansk Voivodship are virtually empty. In these circumstances the voivodship office has decided to extend rationing. From 1 April coupons are being introduced for animal and vegetable fats.

The following allocation for each authorized person has been set: one quarter of butter, one quarter of margarine and one quarter of lard. Instead of lard it is possible to obtain half a kilogram of pork fat and a package of oil.

CHRONOLOGICAL REPORT ON BYDGOSZCZ EVENTS ISSUED

AU300700 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Mar 81 p 6

[PAP report: "Events in Bydgoszcz--Chronological List of Facts and Events Based on Documents of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship Office"]

[Text] PAP--The Bydgoszcz Voivodship Office announces: The recent events in Bydgoszcz have created a great interest of the public countrywide. Various interpretations of these events have appeared, and tendentious versions and rumors are being circulated. That is why we present below the course of the events. This report is based on the documents of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship Office.

The events that took place between 16 and 20 March were closely connected with an entire series of earlier events. That is why it is necessary to refer to them.

On 23 February 1981 the 10th voivodship congress of the delegates of agricultural circles and organizations took place in the voivodship office building at 3 Jagiellonski Street in Bydgoszcz. The congress evaluated the performance of the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles and Agricultural Organizations and the activities of agricultural circles and of circles of rural housewives. In addition, the congress adopted statutes and elected the authorities of the Council of the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations. During the 10th congress of the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles and Agriculture Organizations a group of the organizers of so-called peasant (Rural) Solidarity, led by Stanislaw Mojzeszowicz, organized an action aimed at undermining the representative and legal character of the elections carried out during the congress. The group of the organizers of "peasant Solidarity" asked for participation in the congress, threatening to organize a demonstration of Bydgoszcz Voivodship farmers. The congress agreed that five farmers, led by S. Mojzeszowicz, should participate in the congress. S. Mojzeszowicz spoke from the congress rostrum and congratulated the delegates on the election of new authorities, wishing the Bydgoszcz Voivodship farmers the fulfillment of their expectations. At the same time, he tried to undermine the legality of the May 1980 election of the delegates of the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles and Agricultural Organizations. In addition, the wisdom of uniting agricultural circles with other agricultural organizations, especially with the agricultural circles' cooperatives, was questioned. The group of the organizers of "peasant Solidarity" announced that it would organize its own congress.

On 8 March an illegal congress of the so-called delegates of agricultural circles from 28 rural parishes in Bydgoszcz Voivodship was organized in the Belma Hall at 50 Grunwaldzka Street in Bydgoszcz. The congress set up a body that called itself the "council" and the "board" of the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles (WZKR). Stanislaw Mojzeszowicz was elected chairman.

On 19 March S. Mojzeszowicz went to see Bydgoszcz Deputy Voivoda Wladyslaw Przybylski and introduced himself as "chairman of the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles."

It is necessary to state from the legal viewpoint that the so-called voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles was set up in violation of the Law on Associations. This means that there was every ground to adjudge as illegal the "congress of the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles" on 8 March. The illegal voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles lodged with the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles and Agricultural Organizations a claim for the premises for the board, for property and for representation in the field.

Presenting himself as chairman of the "voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles," S. Mojzeszowicz went to the headquarters of the ZSL voivodship committee in Bydgoszcz, where a session of the Council of the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles and Agricultural Organizations was held, and asked to be introduced to the Council members. The Council of the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles and Agricultural Organizations refused to do so.

In the morning of 16 March a group of sympathizers of the "voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles" and of "peasant Solidarity" broke into the building occupied by the ZSL voivodship committee and proclaimed an indefinite occupation strike. A strike committee was set up with Roman Bartoszcze from Inowroclaw rural parish at the head. The strike committee demanded that voivodship authorities come to the building of the ZSL voivodship committee. Bydgoszcz Deputy Voivoda Roman Bak; Ludwik Skowronek, deputy head of the Department of Agriculture, Food and Forestry; and Czeslaw Wosik, head of the Department of the Social and Administrative Affairs of the Voivodship Office, met with the strikers. The meeting was attended by two deputy chairmen of the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles and Agricultural Organizations--Roman Czyrkiewicz and Edmund Wisniewski. The talks began in an atmosphere of high emotions which were constantly being intensified by the strike organizers.

During the meeting, Deputy Voivoda R. Bak appealed to strikers to achieve speedy agreement and to end the strike. He referred to Premier Jaruzelski's appeal for 90 days of calm and presented Bydgoszcz Voivodship's current socioeconomic situation, drawing attention to the need to begin spring farm work. On their part, the strikers submitted the following demands:

--The authorities should recognize the congress, the Council and the Board of the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles;

--Buildings should be handed over to the authorities of the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles;

--Agricultural circles should be recognized as economic and service units;

--The Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union of Individual Farmers "Solidarity" should be recognized as a social and professional representative of farmers;

--Personal security should be guaranteed for all participants in the strike;

--The entire agricultural development fund should be handed to rural self-government groups.

The demands were mailed to the Council of Ministers in Warsaw and to the National Consultative Commission of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity. They were also distributed countrywide.

Despite repeated appeals by the Bydgoszcz deputy voivoda that the strike should end on the first day, the many hours of talks produced only an agreement on a meeting between the two presidiums of the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles and Agricultural Organizations and of the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles. Deputy Voivoda R. Bak also met the strike committee's demand by declaring in writing that no legal punishment and administrative sanctions will be applied against the strikers and their dependents.

At 0030 hours on 17 March Deputy Voivoda R. Bak submitted to the strike committee the following draft agreement:

1. In line with the earlier agreements, the Bydgoszcz voivoda will make efforts to have a meeting at noon on 17 March between the Presidium of the Council of the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles and Agricultural Organizations and the Presidium of the Council of the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles, both sides to be represented by an equal number of members.

2. Should the sides differ in their positions at the presidium meeting, the Bydgoszcz voivoda pledges himself to examine the proposal on the realization [realizacja] of the two unions within 7 days of receiving all documents.

3. Taking into consideration the appeal by the premier and the National Consultative Commission of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity, the strike committee pledges itself to immediately end the strike and to vacate the premises belonging to the ZSL voivodship committee at 87 Dworcowa Street in Bydgoszcz.

The strikers rejected the agreement proposed to them. In the morning of 17 March the strikers occupying the premises of the ZSL Voivodship Committee changed their name into the "All-Poland Strike Committee of the Independent, Self-Governing Farmers' Trade Union Solidarity." At the same time, they adopted a resolution with the following demands:

--The state authorities recognize the congress of the Council and Board of the Voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles;

--The premises owned by the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles and Agricultural Organizations be handed over to the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles;

--The Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union of Individual Farmers Solidarity to be recognized as social and professional representation of individual farmers;

--Personal safety to be guaranteed for all participants in the strike;

--The entire agricultural development fund to be handed over to rural self-government groups.

The strikers also stressed the countrywide application of the decisions of that resolution, appealing to representatives of other voivodships to participate in the strike.

In the afternoon of the same day--17 March--separate sessions of the presidiums of the two councils were held. After that a joint session was held, which adopted a resolution, following stormy discussions. The resolution contained the following demands:

--To commission experts in agricultural law to draw up new statutes of agricultural circles so as to separate economic and service matters from social and professional matters;

--To hold elections in agricultural circles with participation of representatives of the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles, of the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles and Agricultural Organizations and of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union of Individual Farmers Solidarity; the elections to be held in line with the new statutes;

--To bring a government commission and a commission of the central Union of Agricultural Circles to the occupied building of the ZSL Voivodship Committee in order to hold talks with the strike committee, the Presidium of the Council of the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles and the Presidium of the Council of the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles and Agricultural Organizations in Bydgoszcz.

In the evening Deputy Voivoda Bak went to ZSL Voivodship Committee headquarters to meet the participants in the sit-in strike. The gathering included people from Poznan and Torun Voivodships. The deputy voivoda again appealed for an end to the strike, asking that representatives of the two councils go to Warsaw for talks in the Ministry of Agriculture. The deputy voivoda proposal was rejected.

Because of the irreconcilable stand of the strikers and because of their resolute rejection of the proposal to travel to Warsaw, the talks were broken off.

On 18 March the participants in the sit-in strike published a communique, which stated that the strike would continue. The communique also stated that the sit-in strike was supported by the presence of Jan Rulewski, chairman of the Interfactory Founding Committee of the NSZZ Solidarity in Bydgoszcz, of Deputy Chairman Krzystof Godlewski and of other people.

On 18 March--the third day of the strike--a press conference was held in the occupied building around noon. The conference was attended by Polish journalists and those from the American magazine NEWSWEEK and the French press agency "SIPA PRESS." The conference was chaotic, and questions were asked by journalists and other people. The organizers of the conference also put a number of questions to the journalists. Many of those questions were demagogical in character.

In connection with the session of the voivodship People's Council planned for 19 March, the Interfactory Founding Committee of the NSZZ Solidarity took action to influence the session, as attested to especially by the telex sent on 18 March by the Interfactory Founding Committee to the workforces of the 55 largest factories in Bydgoszcz Voivodship.

The text of the telex:

"We invite members of 'Solidarity' in all factories in Bydgoszcz region to attend tomorrow--19 March at 1400-1500 hours--the session of the voivodship People's Council in the building of the Voivodship Office. The session's agenda includes evaluation of the social and legal situation of the individual farmers' farming and appraisal of the nation's food in the light of the country's present situation."

It is interesting that an unlimited number of members of an organization totaling some scores of thousands of people were invited to the session without the agreement of the voivodship People's Council Presidium.

In that complicated situation the voivodship administrative authorities met with representatives of the Interfactory Founding Committee Solidarity in the building of the Voivodship Office as early as 1530 hours on 18 March. The voivodship's administrative authorities were represented by Deputy Voivodas R. Bak and W. Przybylski, by voivodship Deputy Prosecutor Zdzislaw Obuchowicz, by Czeslaw Wosik, head of the Department of Social and Administrative Affairs, and by Lt Col Kus, who represented the voivodship command of the Citizen Militia. The Interfactory Founding Committee Solidarity was represented by Krzystof Gotowski, Ryszard Skopowski and Marian Fundament.

During the meeting Deputy Voivoda R. Bak asked representatives of the Interfactory Founding Committee Solidarity about the purpose of such an extensive and demonstrative participation of "Solidarity" members from many factories in the session of the voivodship People's Council. Replying, K. Gotowski, Presidium member of the Interfactory Founding Committee Solidarity said that the telex addressed to factories had been dispatched in line with the resolution adopted by the Interfactory Founding Committee Solidarity in Bydgoszcz. He also said that some 1,300-1,500 persons representing the largest factories would attend the demonstration. He justified the assembly of such a large number of people by the fact that a representative of the Interfactory Founding Committee Solidarity would speak at the session of the voivodship People's Council.

Deputy Voivoda R. Bak noted that the voivodship People's Council Presidium did not authorize the Interfactory Founding Committee to invite so many "Solidarity" members to the session. He also asked for a more detailed description of the purpose of the demonstration in question and for the program of the measures to ensure order. He referred to the sit-in strike in the building of the ZSL Voivodship Committee, stressing that the situation in the city was tense and that this might cause incalculable consequences.

Replying, K. Gotowski admitted that the voivodship People's Council Presidium or any other administrative authorities of the voivodship and the city had not been consulted about the telex sent to the workforces in factories.

During the discussion attention was drawn to the fact that the city's peak traffic time was between 1400 and 1500, especially at the very sensitive traffic center at Jagiellonska Street. This was really a problem, but they gave assurances that they would be able to ensure comprehensive order. They also asked for loudspeakers to be installed outside the building of the Voivodship Office. At that moment it was pointed out to "Solidarity" representatives that organizing such a large demonstration might result in a loss of control over the course of events because the demonstrators might be joined by socially suspect people who could create disturbances.

Deputy Voivoda R. Bak moved to recall the telex and to give up the plan for a mass demonstration. Instead, he moved to relay the proceedings of the session of the voivodship People's Council to the Astoria Hall in which "Solidarity" members could gather to listen to the proceedings of the voivodship People's Council session.

Moreover, R. Bak asked if the National Consultative Commission of "Solidarity" knew about the question of organizing the demonstration. K. Gotowski gave an affirmative answer.

On 19 March at 1000, the sixth session of the voivodship People's Council opened in the house of the Voivodship Office. The main items on the agenda were the following:

--The examination of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship socioeconomic plan and consolidated [zbiorczy] budget for 1981;

--Opinion about a candidate for the office of Bydgoszcz voivoda.

Invited to the session were six representatives of the Interfactory Founding Committee of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity." However, a group of more than 30 "Solidarity" aktivs forced their way to the session hall, pushing aside the orderlies.

Having opened the session proceedings, Edward Berger, chairman of the voivodship People's Council, presented the draft agenda which was unanimously approved by the Council members. At the same time he told the Council members that the Interfactory Founding Committee sent a telex containing misinformation about the agenda of the proceedings, since the telex alleged that the agenda of the proceedings included the "evaluation of the social and legal situation of private farming and food supplies to the people in the light of the present situation in the country." There was no such item on the agenda formulated in the invitations which were distributed earlier.

Then, in line with the agenda, 20 Council members presented 62 interpellations and motions. In the next item on the agenda Deputy Premier Mach, who was participating in the proceedings, nominated Bogdan Krolewski for the office of Bydgoszcz voivoda. By ballot, the Council members approved the candidacy by 134 to 14.

In accordance with the agenda, the Council proceeded to examine the Bydgoszcz Voivodship socioeconomic plan and consolidated budget for 1981.

The discussion was opened by Deputy Voivoda R. Bak. Andrzej Mlodecki, chairman of the Commission for Economic Development and Town and Country Planning, stated his opinion about the Bydgoszcz Voivodship draft socioeconomic plan and budget. He said that it was necessary to form an opinion about many interpellations presented, involving, among other things, investments that had their effect on the shape of the plan. Moreover, he emphasized that the materials containing the program for ensuring the implementation of the 1981 plan and of the Polish premier's 10-point program in the voivodship were delivered to the Council members too late. Taking this into account, A. Mlodicki moved to adjourn the proceedings to a time when the materials are supplimented and when problems requiring examination are discussed by the appropriate commissions. In reply to the question of who would like to take the floor on that issue, Council member B. Nalezyty seconded the motion to adjourn the proceedings. Then the chairman asked if there were any other motions on that issue. Since there were none, the chairman of the proceedings submitted the motion to a vote. The session approved the motion, with four absentions. There were no votes against the motion. At 1345 the chairman closed the session proceedings, announcing that the time of the next session would be fixed by the voivodship People's Council Presidium.

When the proceedings were closed and the Council members began to leave the conference hall, J. Rulewski, who was present in the hall, began to shout: "It is a shame, a treason! Do not let them manipulate you!"

Then, elbowing his way through the Council members, he rushed to the microphone on the dais and began to call on the Council members to stay in the hall to "take a joint action." Out of 148 persons present, about 40 Council members and "Solidarity" aktivists stayed in the hall. Moreover, J. Rulewski declared that he would not engage in any talks with the chairman of the voivodship People's Council.

At 1400, the first attempt was made to settle the conflict. Deputy Voivoda R. Bak and Cz. Wosik, director of the Social Administrative Affairs Department, met Romuald Kukulowicz, representative of the primate of Poland. The meeting participants exchanged opinions on the situation which had arisen in the hall after the closure of the session proceedings and which had been created by Presidium members of the Interfactory Founding Committee of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity." Then R. Kukulowicz went to the conference hall of the voivodship People's Council and appealed for hasty decisions not to be taken until affairs were clarified.

However, R. Kukulowicz's appeal did not calm the atmosphere in the hall and was ignored. On the other hand, the atmosphere was shaped by the demagogic utterances made by the chairman and some members of the Presidium of the Interfactory Founding Committee. In such excitement, J. Rulweski appealed "to the conscience of all those present" and called "stay with us." Then J. Rulewski telephoned the "organizations of the 'Solidarity' trade union at enterprises," asking them to gather at the house of Voivodship Office. Constantly growing groups of citizens began to gather before the house of the office. The activities of J. Rulewski and other Presidium members of the Interfactory Enterprise Founding Committee clearly showed the intention to occupy the conference hall of the Voivodship Office. The further developments were evidence of that.

At 1500 J. Rulewski announced that the Presidium of the Interfactory Enterprise Committee resolved to declare the occupation of the conference hall of the Voivodship Office in solidarity with the occupation of the seat of the ZSL Voivodship Committee. At the same time a hint was made at the possible proclamation of a general warning strike in the entire Bydgoszcz region. That fact was confirmed in the communique issued on that day by "the press bureau of the strike." Among other things, it said: "'Solidarity' figures and some of the Council members occupied the session hall."

However, in the communique there is a certain inexactness, because some of the Council members stayed in the hall not in order to occupy it, but to discuss with "Solidarity" figures the possibility of settling the conflict.

At 1500-1600 the Presidium of the Interfactory Founding Committee and other "Solidarity" members did not conceal the intention to occupy the house, storing food and beverages (moreover, some food and beverages were brought even before), as well as ordering blankets, sleeping bags and so forth by telephone.

At that time J. Rulewski also presented the first demands: 1) To guarantee security to striking persons; 2) To complete formal and legal proceedings concerning the registration of the Independent Self-Governing Union of Agricultural Producers "Rural Solidarity"; 3) To dissolve the voivodship People's Council and to hold new elections; 4) To adjourn the congress of the central Union of Agricultural Circles and Agricultural Organizations; 5) To adopt a program for amending the criminal law; 6) To open access to telex services; 7) To guarantee external communication with "Solidarity" cells at enterprises; 8) To let the strikers use the canteen, to provide them with food and to give them the chance to move into the Voivodship Office house.

After 1500, on the initiative of the voivodship People's Council members staying in the hall, an attempt was made to assume a dialogue with "Solidarity" aktivists in order to prevent the occupation of the house. The businesslike agumentation of the Council members was accepted. In connection with that, a joint commission was set up and a communique worked out. Its conclusions were as follows:

1) The Council members present to the voivodship People's Council Presidium a written motion to convene within 7 days an extraordinary, second part of the session; 2) At the session, a representative of the Interfactory Founding Committee of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity" will be offered the floor; and 3) All representatives of the Interfactory Founding Committee of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity," who participated in the session proceedings on 19 March 1981, will be invited, in accordance with the list of those attending, to the session.

At the same time the Council members moved today to end the discussion on controversial issues, proceeding from the assumption that all remaining questions and demands would be presented at the session of the voivodship People's Council that would offer an opportunity to discuss and to exchange views. This way of settling controversial issues at sessions has been guaranteed by the act concerning people's councils.

The Interfactory Founding Committee of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity" assumed the following attitude to the proposals presented by the Council members: 1) The Interfactory Founding Committee of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity" endorses the attitude taken by the Council members; 2) At the session, the demand will be made to hold the persons responsible for the conflict that occurred at the sixth session to a strict account, including dismissal.

It seemed that with an agreement reached upon the communique the incident would soon be ended. However, events took a different course.

There were different causes for this. First of all, in the afternoon, particularly after 1800, a new group of citizens began to gather in front of the Voivodship Office house. The atmosphere was becoming increasingly tense and, as time passed, the gathering turned into a demonstration. The crowd in front of the house alone was estimated at more that 1,500 persons. This was a result of J. Rulewski's appeals mentioned above. Moreover, when the joint commission composed of voivodship People's Council members and figures of the Interfactory Founding Committee held its deliberations, "Solidarity" members occupying the conference hall conveyed communiques to persons outside the house, thus fanning the atmosphere of tension. Many demonstrators tried to force their way into the house. There were attempts to unhinge the entrance door and shouts were made to increase the agitation (among other things, "Let us burn that barn down.")

In such a situation that could bring highly negative results, the leadership of the Voivodship Office appealed three times to "Solidarity" members occupying the conference hall to leave the hall on their own accord. However, those appeals were turned down.

In view of that, the leadership of the Voivodship Office applied to the public order forces for assistance.

At 1900 Citizens Militia officers and functionaries entered the hall, and representatives of the voivodship administration, in the presence of the prosecutor, announced that a decision had been taken to use force if the hall were not cleared voluntarily. At the same time repeated appeals were made again to leave the hall voluntarily.

J. Rulewski resolutely turned the appeal down, declaring that should force be used, then the warning strike, continuing at that time in Inowroclaw, would turn into a full strike, and a warning strike would be proclaimed in the entire Bydgoszcz district. At the same time he asked the leadership of the Voivodship Office and public order organs for 15 minutes to discuss a decision concerning the evacuation of the hall. That proposal was accepted and the public order forces were withdrawn from the conference hall.

In the meantime, the said commission composed of the Council members and the "Solidarity" representatives brought a draft communique which was supplemented, at J. Rulewski's motion, with a protest "against the unprecedented intervention of the Citizens Militia organs." That communique was signed by those concerned.

Although the time agreed upon passed and the communique was adopted and signed by the two sides, J. Rulewski refused to leave the conference hall voluntarily. That, combined with the facts quoted above, clearly attested to the intention to continue the occupation of the conference hall of the voivodship People's Council.

In connection with developments, the Bydgoszcz voivoda appealed to the public order services of the Citizens Militia to restore order. A number of those present left the house of the Voivodship Office on their own accord. The persons refusing to leave the hall were taken out. The intervention did not apply to the voivodship People's Council members present in the hall. The intervening militiamen were not armed, wore no helmets and had no clubs. During the intervention of the public order services of the Citizens Militia nobody was beaten up. That intervention took place shortly after 1900.

However, at about 2000 J. Rulewski turned up on the premises of the Interfactory Founding Committee of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity," where photographs were taken of him to prove his bodily injuries. More or less at that time J. Rulewski was transported by an ambulance, called for by Dr Hauslinger, to the 30th Anniversary Hospital. Mariusz Labentowicz also turned up in the same hospital, to be followed, at about 2400, by Michal Bartoszcze.

The question of the bodily injuries suffered by J. Rulewski, M. Labentowicz and M. Bartoszcze has thus far been obscure, and for that reason it requires an investigation which is being carried out. Particularly complicated is the question of J. Rulewski's bodily injuries. On 15 March this year he caused an automobile accident in which Jacenty Golab died. An examination is being made to determine if and what injuries to J. Rulewski's legs could have resulted from that accident.

A delegation of the National Consultative Commission visited J. Rulewski, M. Labentowicz and M. Bartoszcze in the hospital. On the other hand, contact with the patients was made difficult for the prosecutor who wanted to begin to clear up the case.

At the same time, it is to be added that the "Solidarity" Interfactory Founding Committee in Bydgoszcz has been actively disseminating its version of the events, alleging that "citizens Rulewski, Labentowicz and Bartoszcze had been massacred by the Citizens Militia with brass knuckles." A version alleging J. Rulewski's death has also been circulated. Under such circumstances the National Consultative Commission found it ncessary in its 20 March communique to deny those rumors and to state that J. Rulewski's health was satisfactory.

THAT WAS THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN BYDGOSZCZ FROM 23 FEBRUARY TO THE EARLY MORNING ON 20 MARCH. [passage printed in boldface]

BYDGOSZCZ COUNCIL DELEGATION ARRIVES IN WARSAW

LD280938 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Our Bydgoszcz correspondent has reported that a delegation of Bydgoszcz Voivodship People's Council young councillors has arrived in Warsaw. Members of the delegation include delegation Chairman Kazimierz Zawinski, and ZSMP Voivodship Board Chairman Zbigniew (Bartel). They will report to the premier on all facts connected with the events which occurred on 19 March during the Bydgoszcz Voivodship People's Council session and after its interruption. The councillors have tape recordings from the session, their own written report on the session and a statement by young councillors assessing the circumstances of the interruption of the session.

STRIKING FARMERS AWAIT COMMISSION AT BYDGOSZCZ

LD282300 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] The all-Polish farmers sit-in strike in the building of the ZSL Bydgoszcz is in its 13th day. The strikers have received with satisfaction the decision of the councillors of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship People's Council on the subject of the events of 19 March, as well as the election of Brig Gen Franciszek Kaminski to the post of chairman of the voivodship People's Council. The peasants on strike are still waiting the arrival of the government commission.

Meeting With Rakowski

LD281304 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1230 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski received today a delegation of councillors of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship People's Council consisting of (Zbigniew Bartel), (Wlodzimierz Cieply), (Kazimierz Gawinski), (Miroslaw Kielnik), (Eugeniusz Kuzmiemski), (Edmund Mizerski), (Czeslaw Myszka), and (Wlodzimierz Szymanski) at the Council of Ministers' offices. The councillors presented their stance and documents concerning the events of 19 March 1981 in Bydgoszcz. The deputy premier assured the councillors that the documents presented to him will be used during the assessment of the events in question.

TV Interviews Strikers

LD290856 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] The sit-in has entered its second week now in the voivodship committee building of the ZSL in Bydgoszcz. A group of over 100 people, representatives of the voivodship union of agricultural circles, of the rural and farmers Solidarity [as heard] entered the building in Dworcowa Street No 87. The sit-in, which led to the events in Bydgoszcz [words indistinct]. Our reporters were refused entry into the occupied building to talk to the strikers.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified voice] [passage indistinct] We would like to see what people said on the television screens. We did not see it; therefore, we cannot comment. [Words indistinct] the statements of farmers were shortened, and on the other hand we had the speeches by Mr Kania, Mr Koziol and others. Private farmers, on the other hand, were not given a chance to speak. Everybody knows the situation in our country, that is clear enough, but when a farmer wanted to speak he was cut short. [passage indistinct]

[Reporter] How do you evaluate the situation in your region today?

[Unidentified voice] The situation in our region is calm and stable. Everybody here knows what the issue is.

[Reporter] What do you think? What can happen to us Poles in 48 hours if this climate of excitement and tension is to continue in our country?

[Unidentified voice] We shall not enter into political arguments but we can say this: In 48 hours total calm and order can take place in our country. [applause]

[Reporter] What does this depend on?

[Unidentified voice] Taking the letter of Mr Bratkowski into consideration, we believe that calm and order can take place thanks to reason by the people who are higher up. (?We believe) in Mr Jaruzelski.

Here, in this voivodship, a putsch [PUCZ] was launched against him after we began to strike. We hope that he will make some order. I was in the army for a long time and I know this situation.

[Reporter] Maj Gen Franciszek Kaminski a few minutes ago became the chairman of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship People's Council. How did you receive this news?

[Unidentified voice] With applause, for sure. Bravo! [applause]

[Reporter] According to you what is needed in Bydgoszcz and by Poland for the future? Peace for sure. How can this be achieved?

[Unidentified voice] [Words indistinct] people want to talk, to hold discussions, to solve the problems. On the other hand you have factions which do not want to allow the talks to take place. That is why we are staging a sit-in. We have had no response from those who make decisions on whether they will come or not.

[Reporter] About this sit-in. Numerous foreign agencies are asking us, the Poles, a question: The farmers in Bydgoszcz are on strike so who is working in the fields in their place?

[Unidentified voice] To this I answer: The neighbors work, our colleagues work; if necessary, workers will work, too. But then what we divide only between farmers and workers! [shouts of "bravo" , applause]

[Reporter] Last question please: How long do you intend to occupy this building?

[Unidentified voice] The situation is clear. Mr Voivoda and the authorities in this region have been compromised [passage indistinct] took our demands to the highest authoritis, wearing his tie. Since then, days have passed, and even if he went by bicycle he must have delivered them by now. How long are we going to stay here? As long as it takes (?to sign). [applause] [end recording]

Sorry for the mistake. Of course our reporters were allowed to enter the occupied building and talk with the strikers. The occupation of the ZSL building in Bydgoszcz is continuing.

ZSL on Current Situation

LD281918 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] The Supreme Committee of the ZSL held a meeting, attended by the Presidium of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship Committee of the ZSL, to discuss the present extremely complex situation in the country. The committee found that the nation is facing chaos and disorganization. It is difficult to resist the impression, said the speakers, that there are forces in Poland which wish to create new centers of unrest. These extremist forces hinder the process of socialist renewal, cause social confrontation, and prefer their own particular interests to the independent existence of the state and the future of the whole nation. They destroy the front of people of good will and commonsense as well as the hopes which the whole nation links with the appeal of the premier, General Jaruzelski, and the action of the government under his leadership.

In connection with the events which took place last week in Bydgoszcz it was said that the ZSL is against all acts of using unlawful force with regard to anyone. It is in this context that the issue of the beating up of three persons after the session of the voivodship people's council should be examined. Those responsible for this incident should be punished in accordance with the law in force. At the same time the ZSL regards as intolerable and aimed at public peace any other form of lawless action such as the occupation of the headquarters of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship Committee of the ZSL. The ZSL takes the position that there should be an early settlement to the problems which became the causes for the occupation of the building of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship Committee of the ZSL.

The Presidium of the Supreme Committee has approached the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and organizations with a request to commence talks with the farmers on strike.

BYDGOSZCZ COUNCILLORS HIT 19 MARCH USE OF FORCE

LD281942 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1610 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Marcin Bielski report]

[Text] On 26 March, the Bydgoszcz Voivodship People's Council held the second meeting of its sixth session. The meeting was called following the motion made by 45 councillors who had stayed behind in the session hall on 19 March and took part in the events that followed. On the basis of a written account by the councillors who took part in talks with representatives of the Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] of the NSZZ Solidarity, Councillor Kazimierz Gawinski, on behalf of the voivodship section of young councillors, presented the following position:--I am quoting the abridged version of the text on the basis of [words indistinct].

Firstly, one must establish at what level and who personally took part in the adoption of decisions for the action on the part of political, state and administrative authorities and the leadership of the MKZ.

Secondly, we are submitting a proposal to the Association of Polish Lawyers to establish legal aspects of the conduct and interruption of the session, as well as of the presence of a group of councillors and representatives of the MKZ of the NSZZ Solidarity in the session hall.

We are upset by, and opposed to obstacles being raised in the way of councillors seeking a successful settlement of the conflict without the use of force, Councillor Gawinski said.

The resolution of the voivodship People's Council, which was adopted and published on 26 March, concerning the assessment of the events, says among other things that without using all the options at the disposal of the organ of state administration, and without taking into account well advanced efforts and apparent opportunities for the solution of problems without conflict, the decision was taken to bring public order forces into action. This resulted in three people being beaten up. The voivodship People's Council, the resolution says, demands a detailed elucidation of the circumstances in which, on 19 March, several persons were beaten up, as well as accurate information, for the council and the people, concerning the facts, and also the punishment of the guilty in accordance with the regulations in force.

Today's issue of the PZPR local daily, GAZETA POMORSKA, reports that a seven-strong delegation, representing the voivodship section of young councillors of the Voivodship People's Council in Bydgoszcz, has gone to Warsaw. The delegation includes the chairman of the section, Kazimierz Gawinski, and Zbigniew Bartel, chairman of the executive committee of the voivodship Polish youth union and member of the party voivodship committee executive in Bydgoszcz. The delegation is to submit to the premier all facts connected with them documentary evidence, including tape recordings of the voivodship People's Council session, their personal account of the session and the position of the young councillors in assessing the circumstances in which the session was interrupted. The delegation will also submit a statement, addressed to the premier, which says:

A large group of councillors of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship People's Council, who directly observed and participated in the events of 19 March, during the session of the voivodship People's Council, submit a request for the consideration of the citizen premier, on the possibility of holding a direct meeting with us. We intend to submit to the citizen premier a direct account, in view of our concern that the government commission is conveying information mainly from the administrative authorities' point of view.

Deputy Minister Jan Jablonski's 26 March speech at the voivodship People's Council session, and, above all, the negative reception he received from the councillors, has convinced us of this.

BRATKOWSKI OPEN LETTER URGES PARTY REORGANIZATION

LD291436 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] [No dateline supplied] Here is the open letter from Stefan Bratkowski, chairman of the Association of Polish Journalists, to all primary party organizations:

Dear fellow comrades,

I am writing this letter to you as members of our party. I am writing on matters of whether to be or not to be. I am not writing as chairman of the Association of Polish Journalists but as a rank and file party member who, due to his state of health and his dedication to his profession, does not intend to occupy any position in the state or party authorities. I hope that this will make my voice more credible and more objective in view of the fact that the situation is becoming increasingly dramatic. We are entering a new crisis. Let us have no illusions; this is a crisis of the last chance for those who would like to drive our party from the path of social agreement, bringing our state and society to an inevitable catastrophe. [sentence as received]

These are men who do not seek agreement, even with their party grassroots. They are afraid of them. They avoid the test of honest elections and use all the means available to postpone the extraordinary congress. These are the men who want to introduce fear in the party apparatus--fear of their own party and of the people, pointing to themselves as the only one capable of protecting the apparatus from the loss of positions and influence.

These are the men who try to set the forces of public order in conflict with their own community so as to preclude all other ways out except confrontation. These are the men who present themselves to our neighbors as being the only force capable of guaranteeing the durability of our alliances and of the state system.

In reality, they do not constitute any force and cannot guarantee anything to anyone, not even to themselves. It is impossible to rule this country in conflict with several millions of one's own party grassroots, in conflict with several million workers, in conflict with millions of peasants, and with the support of no more than a part of the apparatus of power, because the preponderant majority of that apparatus, even if partly disorientated, also supports the task of patching up the republic.

Our hardliners do not represent any program except the concept of confrontation and disinformation. They do not promise us any prospects except a drama. I have been observing their activities for months and I cannot discern even a single proposal which goes beyond the protection of their own positions, beyond the ambition to reach out for still higher ones. Virtually everything they do increases tension and mutual mistrust. Today they are trying to involve the whole party leadership and the government in a clash with the whole of society. Embarking on a path having incalculable consequences, they try to provoke society to behave in a manner justifying the use of force.

I am not in the habit of getting involved in personal matters of power and, therefore, I am not mentioning any names. But, as is generally known, there are comrades among these men who occupy the highest positions in our party, supported by a group of comrades rallied around the Warsaw party echelon and also by various people from the apparatus of power.

I think that their continued presence in the party authorities will result in tensions similar to, or even worse the present ones. I do not say that the other comrades in the party leadership do not commit any errors. But there is a difference between errors from which one can withdraw after a debate and the concept of confrontation and manipulation.

I say it openly: We have staked all on Comrade Kania, on Barcikowski. We also do not see any alternative to the government of General Jaruzelski.

These men could have won and can still win acceptance by the majority of the nation for the policy of social agreement, gain the support of the party grassroots, workers, peasants, youth, in conjunction with acceptance from the church and the intellectual elite. I do not see any other road for our party. A different road leads to a political cemetery.

I am not saying that we are a society of saints and sages. A great deal of justified impatience and bitterness has also accumulated and this inclines some people to make statements which are not very responsible. There are also others who do not bear in mind that we have no other fatherland except for Poland and that no one has anywhere to go from this country. Consequently, our coexistence must be arranged today, and for the future, in such a manner as to make it possible to coexist and cooperate without new rancor or liabilities. In spite of everything, impatience and bitterness do not determine the image of our country. Considering today's situation, it is a country of calm people who seek sensible ways to avoid catastrophe. We know how to come to an agreement and we can achieve it even over the difficult problems. Despite views disseminated about ourselves, we can reach accords and it is easy to come to an agreement with us if only one really wants one.

There is no need to be afraid of us. We seek justice and not injury to anyone, decency and not personal schemings, partnerships and not fear of us and deceitful manipulations. We need an honest state, a tidy economy, a wise policy instead of demoralization, disarray and the pursuit of private interests.

It seems to me that we rank and file members of the primary party organizations, all primary party organizations, should loudly proclaim our choice, both to the Central Committee of our party and to the community. The future, to a considerable degree, depends on us at this time of great test.

[Signed] Stefan Bratkowski

JOURNALISTS ASSOCATION HOLDS COUNCIL SESSION

LD272240 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] The second meeting of the third session of the Council of the Association of Polish Journalists began in Warsaw today. Information on the current political situation in the country, its main trends and the possible directions of development, was presented by chairman of the Association of Polish Journalists Stefan Bratkowski.

After saying we have found ourselves at another moment of crisis, the chairman pointed out the element of danger which has a decisive influence on the development of the situation, namely the growing extremist attitudes on both sides of the conflict being experienced by the country. The extremist tendencies intensify each other and feed upon each other. Against this background emerges the need to create a powerful bloc of accord. The creation of such a bloc, involving the participation of journalists, would provide a real chance for finding a way out of the critical situation.

Enumerating the most sensitive issues requiring settlement and compromise, the chairman of the Association of Polish Journalists said it is necessary to elucidate at once the problem of the Bydgoszcz events, to accept the social ambitions of the Polish countryside and to effect a correct functioning of the mass information media. To a great extent, social calm in Poland depends on this. Without correct functioning of the mass information media, it is impossible to effect rational government in this country.

Journalists from Bydgoszcz who were invited to take part in the debates of the session--and who were eyewitnesses to the events that took place in the hall of the voivodship People's Council on 19 March--submitted incontrovertible material on the course of the council's final session.

They also said that their material had failed to reach the public. Members of the council expressed a decisive protest in view of the widespread manipulation of information concerning the events in Bydgoszcz, and asserted that this fact has exacerbated and is continuing to exacerbate the crisis.

The debates today were attended by journalists-deputies to the Sejm in the capacity of guests, as well as representatives of trade unions including Solidarity. The Council of the Association of Polish Journalists is to continue its session tomorrow.

Statement on Bydgoszcz

LD280440 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0330 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] The third session of the Council of the Association of Polish Journalists will resume in Warsaw today. Invited journalists from Bydgoszcz, eyewitnesses to events at the voivodship Peoples Council on 19 March, yesterday presented unshakable evidence concerning the final part of the meeting. They said that their materials did not reach public opinion. Members of the Council of the Association of Polish Journalists strongly protested against endemic manipulation of reports concerning events in Bydgoszcz, stating that this action has intensified and is still intensifying the crisis.

Yesterday, the Central Board of the Association of Polish Journalists published a statement which outlined its position on the present phase of the crisis. The Association, the statement says, reminds all colleagues, chief editors and the heads of press, radio and television, about their particularly great responsibility for the truthful presentation of events, attitudes and opinions of all participants of the social conflict.

Yesterday's debates were attended by journalists deputies and representatives of Solidarity and other unions as guests.

Honest News Urged

LD282006 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] The Council of the Association of Polish Journalists is continuing its debates in Warsaw. This morning, participants at the session acquainted themselves with the progress of the draft collective agreement on the work of journalists--the document which was created on the basis of the proposals put forward during the November extraordinary congress of the association, and which was discussed with the trade unions.

The draft pays particular attention to the legal determination of the status of journalists in the nation and vis-a-vis their employers, which is of fundamental importance as regards professional ethics.

The Council empowered the commission, which was appointed by the Association, to undertake the drafting of the text with the participation of employers.

In the afternoon, the Council began discussions on the current political situation in the country. Participants at the session sent a letter to all journalists in the country staing that neither one's intentions nor one's views justify lies, deliberate dishonesty in the choice and presentation of facts, accusations which violate the personal rights of citizens and intentional delays in conveying important news.

Those among us, the letter reads, who lie degrade us all. We remind you all: In conformity with the existing laws, a journalist who writes or who fulfills other editorial functions does not have the duty to carry out instructions which are contrary to a journalists' professional ethic.

We must not let ourselves be used to push us toward catastrophe, the letter says in conclusion.

Reconciliation Urged

LD282243 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] The Council of the Association of Polish Journalists passed a resolution today addressed to the public at large. It emphasizes that the further continued maintenance of the state of tension may lead to disaster, irrespective of the intentions of those involved. A national tragedy is not unavoidable, reads the resolution. It is not true that it is only a matter of time. The past few weeks and months have shown that there exists a potential bloc of forces of reason and agreement, encompassing nearly the whole society. We must not allow the numerically insignificant but dangerous groups of extremists within the apparatus of power, as well as extreme radical elements within Solidarity, to disrupt the process of achieving national reconciliation.

WYSZYNSKI ADDRESSES JOURNALISTS ON RESPONSIBILITY

LD290053 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] The primate of Poland, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, during the retreat for journalists and publicists held at St Anne's Church in Warsaw, mentioned the current situation in our country. He stressed that there are no situations out of which a nation would have no way out. One must not, however, constantly pass on responsibility to the nation, state and social and political interrelationships, without accepting such responsibility in oneself.

Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski also stated that all the journalists and publicists should have the courage to voice the truth, because the community must not be deprived of the truth in any kind of situation.

WORK ATMOSPHERE CALM IN SUB-BESKID REGION

LD311044 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Text] In the region of Sub-Beskids, employees at the Minicar factory, the Oswiecim chemical works, the Andrychow cotton mill, and the Celma electrical engineering works in Cieszyn, started work today in an atmosphere of calm and hope that the Solidarity National Consultative Commission session will definitely call off the general strike today.

MEDIA COMMITTEE CONDUCTS POLL ON GOVERNMENT

LD301716 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1630 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] In the first days of March the center for public opinion research of the programs research study center of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs carried out a poll on the government of Wojciech Jaruzelski.

It transpires that 85 percent of Poles approved the change of premier. Eighty-three percent of those polled expressed the hope that General Jaruzelski would be a good head of government. Only 1 percent of those polled expressed a dissenting view.

The appeal for 90 days of social calm met with public support. Only 20 percent of those polled said no; 10 percent decisively no, and 1 percent had no opinion on the matter. The remainder of those polled said a resolute yes and almost 70 percent said yes.

Sixty-nine percent expressed the conviction that the new government would be able, during the period of the above-mentioned 3 months, to establish a dialogue with the public, a dialogue that would give rise to hopes for a complete agreement; 61 percent opined that it would be found possible to commence the expected reforms. One quarter of those polled expressed a dissenting view on this question.

Assessing the importance of issues raised in the new government's 10-point program, 88 percent thought the improvement in supplies, particularly of food and a more equitable distribution of goods, was of primary importance. A halt in the decline of agricultural production was put in second place. A better price control and an intensification of the struggle against speculation were put in third place. The postulate requiring a more equitable shaping of the pay and incomes of the population was put in fourth place. Further places were occupied by issues, such as improvement in labor discipline and organization, guarantees for fulfilling the plan for housing construction, alleviation of shortcomings in health protection, and others.

The theses about the necessity of carrying out export tasks and of importing the goods from abroad that the economy and the public need in particular were in last place.

Critical assessments predominated in the opinions about the current economic, social and political situation in the country. Nevertheless, they were accompanied by a greater proportion of optimistic attitudes toward the future.

One half of those polled assessed the relations between the authorities and Solidarity as not good; the situation in the country was deemed not to be calm, but tense. The poll shows that only two demands addressed to the authorities failed to be reflected in the government's 10-point program: They were the radical improvement in the system by which information is provided for society and bringing to book persons who are guilty of abusing their positions and making erroneous economic decisions.

PARTY LIAISON COMMISSION APPROVES GOVERNMENT LINE

LD301826 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Mar (PAP)--On 30 March the political parties' consultative commission held a meeting.

On behalf of the PZPR the meeting was attended by Stanislaw Kania, Henryk Jablonski, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Kazimierz Barcikowski, and Stefan Olszowski.

On behalf of the ZSL the meeting was attended by Stanislaw Gucwa, Zdzislaw Tomal, Boleslaw Struzek, and Jerzy Grzybczak.

The SD was represented by Edward Kowalczyk, Jan Fajecki, Jozef Musial, and Marek Wieczorek.

The commission carefully examined the present dramatic economic and social situation in the country, the continuation of which involves the danger of a disintegration of the national economy and leads to the subversion of the state system, consequently threatening independent national existence. The three sides informed each other about the present directions of the work of PZPR, the ZSL and the SD.

The progress of the talks between the Council of Ministers' Committee on Trade Union Affairs and the delegation of the National Consultative Commission of the Solidarity trade union was discussed.

Approval was expressed for the line represented by the government in the talks.

The representatives of the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD spoke with full vigor in favor of the cessation of strike actions. Poland must have social peace and a return to normal rhythm in the functioning of the national economy.

VOIVODSHIP PARTY ORGANIZATIONS APPEAL FOR PRUDENCE

LD272018 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] With a sense of the highest responsibility for the future of the country, various party echelons and organizations throughout the country are adopting resolutions, appeals, decisions and statements. They appeal for prudence, for an easing of tensions and conflicts, and for a search for political solutions to the crisis.

These words are addressed to all Poles, to the highest authorities of the party and the state, to the government, and to the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of Solidarity.

Party organizations in Gorzow Voivodship adopted a resolution opposing the use of strikes as a form of protest. The sowing of anxiety and lack of confidence in the government and in local authorities, says the resolution of the party committee in the Gorzow-Ursus engineering works, became the crux of actions by certain echelons of Solidarity, contrary to the appeal to strengthen the economy and thus improve living conditions in the country. The resolution points to the political character of the demands, and postulates presented to the government by the KKP of NSZZ Solidarity.

The party organization of the Ursus engineering works expressed its deep anxiety over the tragic sociopolitical situation of our fatherland.

We appeal to all working people, says an open letter issued by the organization, for great prudence and for opposition to all attempts at confrontation.

The resolution of the executive of the voivodship party committee in Piotrkow Trybunalski says: We cannot implement social agreements. We cannot cure our national home in an atmosphere when the nation is continually threatened with strikes with the sowing of hatred between Poles--here, on our Polish soil.

Similar statements are contained in the views of the executive of the voivodship party committee in Tarnow, which speaks for the continuation of socialist renewal and against making any decisions of [word indistinct] character.

The attitude of the executive of the district committee of the party in Gdansk-Center, in addition to the demand for full clarification of the background to and the actual events in Bydgoszcz, also expresses the view that neither of the sides can make arbitrary decisions concerning the whole nation, that no one has the right to disturb peace, for which Premier Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski appealed.

Members of the party in Kozienice powerplant speak in their resolution of the bitterness over the events in the country. Such an atmosphere, the document says, is not conducive to improving the state of our economy, nor to the consolidation of the nation around implementation of the ten-point government program. The workforce of the largest powerplant in the country, the resolution says, wants to work effectively.

Resolutions and appeals, similar in tone and text, have been adopted by party organizations of enterprises in Opole and Elblag Voivodships. The executive of the voivodship party committee in Elblag appeals to all inhabitants of the voivodship that, united by a deep sense of patriotic and civic responsibility for the country, they should be particularly vigilant during this present tense sitution, so that, as up to now, they will prevent harmful actions and thus safeguard social peace.

WORKERS GROUPS ISSUE STATEMENTS ON SITUATION

LD280946 Warsaw PAP in English 0806 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Mar (PAP)--Many declarations, resolutions and statements issued by working people through their political, social and trade union organizations and by groups of employees resound with concern about the present and the future of the country and the nation.

The main board of the 60,000-strong Association of Polish Electricians has appealed on state authorities, Solidarnosc and social forces to do their best to restore order in the country the soonest possible, so that normal life and work is possible in an atmosphere of the rule of law and social trust.

We are convinced that the Bydgoszcz incidents were a provocation aimed against not only the Solidarnosc union and Premier Jaruzelski's government, but against most of the Polish society, which wants to solve the problems of our country in a calm and dignified way. This assessment, expressed in the statement of the Warsaw (?consultative) committee of creative and scientific associations, is shared by members of the Katowice consultative committee of creative and scientific associations.

The free and self-governing trade union (?of construction) workers "Budowlani" in Plock has issued a statement supporting the appeal of the branch trade unions national commission to refrain from any rash actions which disturb peace in Poland. Members of the union have pledged not to stage any strikes during the 90 days of peace for which the premier appealed.

Referring to the Bydgoszcz incidents, the Solidarnosc presidium of the "Dolmel" and "Pafawag" factories in the Wroclaw region has issued a statement expressing the view that they were aimed against Solidarnosc, the foundations of social contracts and Premier Jaruzelski's government.

ELDERLY MAN ATTEMPTS SELF-IMMOLATION AS PROTEST

Letter to Walesa Found

LD281500 Warsaw PAP in English 1411 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Mar (PAP)--Zdzislaw Koziol, a 65-year old inmate of a house for the elderly in Folusz, poured petrol over himself and set himself on fire in the main street of a southern Polish city of Jaslo yesterday.

The fire was put down by people who gathered around the man. He was rushed to hospital with second degree burns. According to preliminary medical opinion, the man is sane.

The man had copies of three letters on him, one addressed to Lech Walesa and other Solidarity leaders. In it he wrote (excerpts): "I beg you to understand what harm you are doing to our homeland, People's Poland. Are you so blind not to see that your actions head a national catastrophe? Who gave you the right to decide on the fate of the country. If you think that the authorities are to blame for what happened in Bydgoszcz then I take the blame on myself and punish myself severely but be aware that you are responsible for my death".

The other two letters were addressed to the local clergy, urging them to act for social calm, and to attorney's office, demanding reprisals for law-breakers.

Greetings From Jaruzelski

LD291926 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] As we have already reported, 64-year-old Zdzislaw Koziol from Jaslo, a veteran of the September campaign, a prisoner in a Nazi camp and a member of the party for more than 30 years, tried to commit suicide by setting fire to himself, protesting in this way against the social tension. Zdzislaw Koziol has been visited by a delegation of soldiers, with Col Wladyslaw (Kuzenka) and Sergeant Andrzeu (Szymierek):

[Begin recording] [First unidentified speaker] On behalf of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, the command and all soldiers of the Warsaw Military District, I convey warmest wishes for successful treatment and the quickest possible return to health. At the same time, I wish you all the best.

[Koziol] Thank you.

[Second unidentified speaker] On behalf of the soldiers of the Sub-Carpathian region, we wish you a rapid return to health.

[Koziol] I would like harmony and [word indistinct] at last to prevail in Poland; [words indistinct] everyone to work properly (?and love) People's Poland [words indistinct]. [End recording]

MINISTER BAFIA ADDRESSES INDUSTRIAL TU SESSION

LD291726 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] A session of the consultative commission of the industrial trade unions has been held in Warsaw. The current situation in the country and in the trade union movement was discussed. Justice Minister Jerzy Bafia, who arrived for the session, familiarized those attending with elements of an information report dealing with the events in Bydgoszcz which are contained in a report prepared by the government commission which he leads.

PRAGUE PAPER INTERVIEWS UNION OFFICIAL ON SITUATION

AU271401 Prague PRACE in Czech 25 Mar 81 p 5

[Interview given by Tadeusz Banasiak, chairman of the Central Committee of the Polish "Independent Trade Union," to "(ASK)" entitled "The Continuators of Revolutionary Traditions; We Talk to Tadeusz Banasiak, A Guest From Poland"--in Prague, date of interview not given]

[Text] A delegation of the Independent Trade Union [ITU] of workers in Poland's textile, clothing and leatherworking industries, arrived in Prague at the invitation of the Central Committee of the trade union of workers in the textile, clothing and leatherworking industries. At the conclusion of the 2-day negotiations on cooperation between the two trade unions we asked Tadeusz Banasiak, chairman of the ITU Central Committee and head of the delegation, for an interview.

[Question] Where does the ITU stand in the present trade union movement in Poland, and what are its positions?

[Answer] It is known that last August the trade union movement in Poland broke up organizationally. Side by side with the 23 class trade unions, which continue the activities of the class trade union movement in Poland with all its rich revolutionary traditions, almost 80 more trade unions exist today in the country. Thus our union at present counts among its membership only a part of workers in the textile, clothing and leatherworking industries. The nature and the ideological profile of our union is unambigously expressed in its statutes. We stand firmly on the positions of socialism, we recognize the PZPR's leading role in our socialist state and society and we maintain international ties with the class trade union movement in the world, which is leading the workers class in its fight against capitalism and imperialism, for justice and social progress, for independence, peace and friendship, and for peaceful cooperation among peoples. These are the basic principles which direct our practical activity.

Compared with the period prior to August 1980, the number of our members has decreased; but our trade union is active in more than 500 enterprises. Our basic organizations are working under the difficult and complicated conditions of a disunited trade union movement and in a deep social-economic and political crisis existing in our country. Even despite the smaller membership base, our basic organizations are still exerting great efforts to make their activity aggressive and efficient. This is not easy, particularly because our endeavors to establish, in the interests of the majority of working people, constructive cooperation with "Solidarity" are meeting with opposition and difficulties.

[Question] What do you regard as most important in your present activities?

[Answer] As I have already mentioned, during its entire existence our trade union strove--often under erratic, even difficult conditions--to actively and effectively solve the working people's problems and to contribute to developing light industry. The results achieved by us, particularly in improving working conditions, in care and health protection and in social and cultural care for the working people and their families, must be neither belittled nor eradicated. However, at the same time we see how many tasks we still have before us in all spheres of trade union work. This was also pointed out by the recent ninth national congress of our union delegates. The working people's proposals reaching us also speak of this. Of course, our trade union's fight for an effective solution of the workers' problems is most difficult in an atmosphere of constant social and political conflicts in the country, which are often artifically evoked. That is why the most urgent task of our trade union is to contribute to calming down the social situation, achieving a normal working rhythm and stabilizing the country both economically and politically.

[Question] How do you assess cooperation between the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [RTUM] in Czechoslovakia and the class trade union in Poland?

[Answer] The class trade union movement in the Polish People's Republic [PPR] and the RTUM in the CSSR are bound by old and tested ties of friendship and cooperation, permeated by international feeling and honest work for the advance and consolidation of building socialism of our fraternal countries. These principles are concurrent with the will and most basic vital interests of the working people, of whom we are spokesmen and representatives.

The mutual exchange of experience and opinions leads to improving and perfecting the trade union work. During our stay in the CSSR we have convinced ourselves that in Czechoslovakia the RTUM has achieved significant results and that its active and creative approach to all problems of economic and social life deserves deep respect and recognition.

From our visit we are taking with us a lot of striking knowledge and suggestions for our further work. I would like to stress that, particularly at present when our country is in a very serious situation, the comradely interest and friendly assistance rendered to us by the Czechoslovak trade union movement are of enormous significance for us. We were very glad about the recent visit of the Central Trade Union Council [CTUC] delegation, led by Comrade K. Hoffmann, to Warsaw, a visit which greatly supported us in our efforts. The agreements signed in the PPR's national coordinating commission of branch trade unions are a good and solid foundation for developing yet closer and more vital cooperation of the two countries' trade unions.

[Question] Your trade union delegation came to Prague shortly after that visit. How do you assess the results of deliberations with the representative of the trade union of Czechoslovakia's textile, clothing and leatherworking industry?

[Answer] The result of our visit will be the deepening, revitalization and perfection of our cooperation. We are sincerely satisfied with the course and results of the deliberations, which had a constructive character and were conducted in a friendly atmosphere. We appreciated very emphatically the interest and concern evoked among the Czechoslovak trade unionists by the situation in Poland. On this occasion I would like to thank the Czechoslovak trade unions for the assistance and support they are rendering to our class branch trade union movement and I would like to assure them that we will do everything in our power for the socialist renewal of the social and political life in our country.

PARTY GROUPS' APPEALS FOR CALM, RESTRAINT REPORTED

LD281242 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Excerpts] The dramatic situation prevailing in our country demands commonsense and caution. It sHould incite all social forces to find a way of resolving the crisis and to resume action serving the stability so very much sought after by all Poles.

These statements are included in a great number of resolutions and appeals adopted at mass meetings and in statements made by various party organizations.

Quite clear is also the support expressed for the program of Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski's government, a program which gives the opportunity to find a way out of the social, political and economic crisis on the condition that calm and undisturbed work will be maintained.

We appeal to all the sides involved in the conflict--reads a resolution of the executive staff of the Elblag Voivodship party committee. We appeal for commonsense and restraint in opinion and acts, for eliminating extreme and drastic methods.

The executive staff of the Gorzow Wielkopolski Voivodship party committee says in its resolutions, among other things: Sowing unrest and lack of confidence in local authorities and the government has become a watchword to be followed by certain bodies of Solidarity, notwithstanding the slogans on consolidating the economy and improving living standards preached by them. Calm is being destroyed; law and order disturbed despite the appeals by the government of Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The resolution adopted by the plenary meeting of the [PZPR] works committee in the Polish shipping company illustrates well the views of party members in Szczecin. The resolution says, inter alia, that being aware of the seriousness of the situation, we cannot allow a confrontation to take place with tragic consequences, to which extremist forces inevitably lead. Therefore it is a duty for all party members and people of goodwill to unite our efforts in order to overcome the crisis, to find a sensible solution for the situation through political methods. The resolution expresses the hopes connected with the next PZPR Central Committee plenum.

ROUNDUP OF PUBLIC OPINION ON CURRENT CRISIS

LD280215 [Editorial Report] Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 2112 GMT on 27 March carries a series of recorded statements by unidentified inhabitants of Rzeszow and Bydgoszcz concerning the current situation in Poland. No questions are presented by the announcer.

A Rzeszow inhabitant states that "the government is always stalling--one does not know why or what for. Who needs this chaos? We do not want it. We want to work but we will not allow ourselves to be pushed around. We have been pushed around for so many years right up to this very day." Another Rzeszow citizen states: "Have you noticed? Solidarity has never been in the right or at least some people used to claim this at the beginning. But it always turned out later that Solidarity was right after all, even from the time of its registration."

In Rydgoszcz, a worker says: "It seems to me that the government should deeply reflect on its actions so far, especially in the Bydgoszcz affair, since another strike may turn out to be a shock for the public. One can see clearly now that this picture of renewal, painted with such painstaking attention to detail is becoming blurred. It is becoming blurred in many speeches by representatives of the government, of the authorities, and of the party. The fact that there has been an attack on the trade union is, in fact, embarrassing. The provocation in Bydgoszcz--this is what I would call it--is embarassing. The working people want to work above all. Every person wants to work and to find fulfillment through work. However, taking all that has happened and is happening into account, all this threatens us with the loss of our dignity. In fact we shall be unable to live with dignity."

Finally, commenting on the 27 March warning strike, a PZPR member from Bydgoszcz states: "Our party secretary announced a meeting for all members of our organization. At long last we have a secretary--the very first one--who is a genuine man. He expresses our interests. Today he said publicly: I am to express your interests. I ask you to tell me what your position is with regard to the warning strike scheduled for 0800-1200. Individual members took the floor, one after another.

Everyone was in favor of a strike. When you say the PZPR--this means that we, the members, unite with all of society and with the entire working class. The decision was passed unanimously: We, too, will strike. The 5-minute broadcast ends at 2117 GMT.

INDEPENDENT UNION NOTES DEMANDS NOT IMPLEMENTED

LD271748 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] The central board of the independent trade union of workers in trade and cooperatives held a meeting in Warsaw today. The ways and means of implementing the demands formulated by the union's members last autumn were discussed. The central board admitted that although right decisions had been taken, for instance as regards training allowances, jubilee awards or supplementary pay for second shift, they were not implemented despite being guaranteed by the agreement concluded between the union and the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services. It was explained that the reason for this delay was that the stance on these matters has so far not been agreed with NSZZ Solidarity.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI ON 'SUBVERSIVE' KOR ACTIVITY

LD280326 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 27 Mar 81

["Instigators of Provocation"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Mar (PAP)--The Army paper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI devotes an article to the subversive activity of the Worker's Defense Committee [KOR] organization which is instigating a radical and destructive movement in the Solidarity trade union. This movement, says the author of the article, is not widespread but is, unfortunately, influential. Its representatives have found a base in the leading links of the trade union. They have taken over very important positions and have, above all, taken possession of information and propaganda which ensures that they have a broad field of activity and control over attitudes. It ensures the manipulation of individual groups [words indistinct] of the extremists consist of members of the illegal subversive organization KOR which is carrying out political activity in Solidarity in the form of "expert advisers."

It is the strategic plan of the KOR to topple the socialist system in Poland, to break the alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states and to open up Poland to the ideological and military-political influences of imperialism.

Recalling a number of statements by the KOR leaders Michnik and Kuron the author of the article proves that this organization is pushing the nation towards catastrophe by urging violence. The following quotation closes the article:

"I believe," said M. Rakowski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, "that together we shall be able to get rid of the threat [words indistinct] warning and general strike, the threat of uncontrollable events and the victory of the elements and emotions over commonsense and a feeling of responsibility. I believe in the victory of the Poles' commonsense and their feeling of responsibility."

All the soldiers of the Polish Army fully approve these words, the author concludes. The interests of the homeland and of the whole nation demand that every soberminded Pole should dissociate himself as quickly as possible from those individuals who, in their dirty game, risk the fate and future of our country. At the same time we must remind them that if they think that socialism has been toppled then they are profoundly mistaken. Servicemen together with all honest people of Poland will defend socialism in the same way as they defend independence.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE PRICE RISES PROPOSED

LD311038 Warsaw PAP in English 0845 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Mar (PAP)--Intensive work on new purchasing prices for agricultural products is underway in Poland.

The Food Economy Council recently discussed a concrete proposal for changing these prices, presented by the council's economic team.

It was stressed during the discussion that it will be necessary to introduce changes into purchasing prices which will bring real production results and will be in accord with farmers' expectations. It was stressed that priority should be given to those fields of production which are able to guarantee a growth in food product supplies in a relatively short time. The need to speed up milk and slaughter animal price rises was pointed out, as well as the necessity to introduce a uniform price for various kinds of grain.

It has been announced that the prices of industrial production means will be kept at the same level this year. However, it will be necessary to fix proper relations between grain purchasing prices and the purchasing prices of concentrated fodder. Works on regulating food detail prices were recognized as urgent.

Deputy Prime Minister Roman Malinowski says in the long run this will be an anti-inflation measure, as it will help to spur hundreds of thousands of small farms. These proposals will be discussed by the Sejm Commission for Agriculture. The main council of the [word indistinct] union of farming circles and organizations and the economic reform team.

The United Peasant Party (ZSL) CC Presidium also voiced its stand in the matter and said that the level of prices of certain agricultural products must be set by production costs and relations between these costs which ensure the best possible production structure. The UPP Presidium stressed the need to work out and introduce a system of raises and said that the first prices to be raised are those of pigs and cattle for slaughter, milk and grains.

RATIONING SYSTEM WILL NOT SOLVE SHORTAGES

LD291732 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Krystyna Zielinska commentary]

[Summary] "Voices are heard here and there saying that in the present market situation the only way out, quite apart, of course, from filling store shelves, lies in rationing everything that is in short supply because then everyone will be able to buy meat, however small the ration, butter and other foodstuffs, such as flour and groats, and other things such as detergents."

The distribution of meat has already begun on paper. The real distribution of meat will begin on Wednesday. Ninety percent of the population has collected rationing coupons.

There is a muddle in the system. In some regions of the country the distribution of rationing coupons was good, in others very bad, especially in Warsaw. There has been petty bureaucratic behavior, administrative mistakes. There have been many cases of people obtaining two sets of coupons--one at their place of employment and another in their place of residence.

A total of 500 inspectors from the ministry are now investigating all parishes. Every voivodship has Ministry of Trade officials to deal with the problems. It has been calculated that about 6,000 people will have to be employed to cope with rationing problems.

It is possible that we will have to introduce rationing of almost everything. At present, we are relying on temporary, or emergency measures, which are very costly.

"The development of rationing will, in my opinion, not result in any positive effects. It is impossible to reform such a system, and whole multitudes of people, whole ministries will work on preparations of new coupons, on reports on distribution prepared by masses of controllers.

In one ministry alone, the cost of meat rationing amounted to about Z100 million. What will the other, future operations cost?"

"It is said that by selling meat at market prices, we will get used to new ways and we will learn the principles of contemporary economics, which have nothing in common with freezing prices for many years, which we have experienced and from whose effects we are all suffering."

As regards the black market, it is estimated that about 20 percent of meat may be sold on the black market. The rest will be sold in shops. Summing up, I am in favor of any system but rationing as way of settling the problem of shortages.

ECONOMIST VIEWS POSSIBLE ECONOMIC 'CATASTROPHE'

AU301251 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 24 Mar 81 pp 1, 4

[Malgorzata Pokojska interview with Dr Rafal Krawczyk, new secretary general of the Polish Economic Society Main Administration: "Closer and Closer to Rock Bottom"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] What are the symptoms of the coming catastrophe?

[Answer] There are many. According to the Western press, we are trying to obtain further loans amounting to $10 billion, which means that we are unable to help ourselves. Further: I have been told that the 1,500 strong work force of a branch factory of the Kasprzak combine [radio equipment] is busy packaging imported rice and that the parent combine will probably halt production in mid-April. In both cases the shortage of materials is the reason.

[Question] What should be done to halt the catastrophe?

[Answer] If I wanted to be malicious I would say that anything should be done. However, nothing is being done at the moment. Agriculture is a classic example of helpless activities and of the deteriorating situation. The decisions on prices in connection with this year's harvest should have been made last November at the latest, but this was not done. And although the size of the harvest will depend mainly on yields and on production means, we are no longer able to influence the structure of cultivation. You can say the same about the industry. In order to obtain hard currencies to pay current bills we export just anything, probably at unfavorable prices. In that way we have less and less money to buy the necessary materials, and production decreases.

[Question] I assume that implementation of economic reform would require checking the aforementioned tendencies and would call for a more militant economic policy.

[Answer] A reform must begin under conditions of relative balance. We must have reasons for a reform and we must know where to look for them. For example, we could begin with changing the structure of prices. Although changes in prices would involve at least some compensation, a large number of families would have their living standards reduced. This reduction has already taken place on an overall scale because of acute market shortages. However, reserves cannot be tapped without political credibility, which means that the key to reform is not to be found in the sphere of the economy. The government could propose such a program to society under the condition, however, that it would be ready--in case of failure—to do what people expect: to tender its resignation.

[Question] Would it not be better to try to obtain foreign loans instead of searching for reserves at the cost of lower standards of a large group of people? After all, the purposes for which we so carelessly contracted debts were far less important than reform.

[Answer] The conditions under which we can obtain loans--I do not think we can do without them--is also the credibility of government. At the moment--doing nothing in the economy--we are approaching bankruptcy step by step.

But who wil grant loans to an economy that intends to go bankrupt in any case? That is why only one way out remains: to reform the economy and the state as soon as possible because these two spheres can no longer be separated. Even a few years ago it was possible to change no more than just the economy.

[Question] Perhaps it is possible to begin with something that does not require great resources and sacrifices on the part of society? What about a speedy reduction in the central administration, for example?

[Answer] That is a difficult operation from the political viewpoint. Central administration has grown and consolidated for over 30 years. The ministers heading the departments that, let us say, are superfluous departments--also belong to the government. And do you think that they would make decisions to liquidate their own institutions?

[Question] Perhaps the Sejm could do that for them?

[Answer] Yes, the Sejm or the institution appointed by it. But we should remember that the Sejm is not used, as yet, to making such decisions. The law on self-government is encountering a mountain of objections. Just imagine the mountain of objections in the case of a measure such as the liquidation of 50 percent of the ministries!

[Question] Does a lack of a law make everything so difficult? Insofar as I know, self-government groups establish themselves spontaneously, and work forces determine their shape independently.

[Answer] Not everywhere. Plans continue to be imposed, even though they are often completely unfeasible.

[Question] How can you explain the authorities' procrastination?

[Answer] In my view, it is a form of defense of an entire group, the interests of which do not jibe with the spirit of the reform, but which--a misfortune--should make a decision on reform.

[Question] Is it at all possible to have reform in such a situation?

[Answer] Despite everything, the objective opportunities for reform are considerable. Aside from the forces that are against reform for various reasons, there are several million young people who are well aware of our conditions, who have been driven to extremities and who know one thing: The "old" must never be allowed to return. I think that now the real threat of an economic catastrophe will compel the authorities to make the necessary decisions, but these decisions will require a very radical retuning of the economy and state. The longer we wait for that retuning, the more radical the decisions will have to be.

[Question] Do you see a role for the new trade unions in that gloomy situation? Will they not insist on accelerating reform?

[Answer] I am afraid that in such a case they will be accused of meddling in politics. That is just the basic issue: There is no institution that would like to and could exert pressure on the authorities. In mid-May the breathing space granted to the government will end. If at that time the question "what next?" again appears, then, I think, just such institutions will have to come into being.

[Question] Who will appoint them?

[Answer] Perhaps the Sejm will shake off its political timidity.

[Question] Before the Polish economic society is able to offer its help to the government it must adopt a firm position on many issues, but economic experts are at loggerheads.

[Answer] That goes without saying. I think that in the end some uniformity of view will have to be achieved. It is important to begin to use meaningful arguments when talking. For example, L. Balcerowicz's concept providing for the existence of independent, self-governing economic enterprises that play the economic game has been often been accused of having a solution incompatible with socialism.

[Question] The people who make such accusations should be asked how far that concept is "not socialist" or else, what socialism means to them.

[Answer] At university I also lecture in the political economics of socialism. When I say that the socialist economy's chief purpose is to maximally meet social needs, the students in the lecturing hall burst out laughing. They react in a similar way with regard to the thesis about a just distribution of the national income, about the planned nature of the economy and even about the social ownership of production means, because they know that, for example, over 50 percent of Volkswagen shares are owned by workers... .

NEY CHAIRS PZPR CONGRESS COMMISSION GROUP MEETING

LD302342 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2130 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Roman Ney today chaired another meeting of the seventh group of the PZPR Congress Commission dealing with culture, science and education.

SEJM EXPANDING ROLE, INCREASED POWERS VIEWED

Deputies Cited

LD271820 Warsaw PAP in English 1701 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Mar (PAP)--Discussing in ZYCIE WARSZAWY the work of the Polish Parliament, M.P. Sylwestern Zawadzki (PUWP) stated among other things that "the events of 1980 did not see the Sejm unprepared for a new role, unprepared for the process of renewal.

"In the previous term, when Premier Jaroszewicz held the reins of the government, we had parliamentary debates which are worthy of recalling... I'm referring to the PUWP Sejm deputies' club session in which Deputy Koluj raised the issue of the premier's resignation after the 1976 events. I'm also thinking of the criticism levelled against the then Deputy Premier Jan Szydlak as well as of other such examples."

Marian Grudzien (PUWP) said that important are the feelings of the voters. There has been a dominant opinion that our Sejm is a silent Sejm which used to vote unanimously for every bill, every government proposal."

Witold Lipski (UPP): "The public opinion was not informed about what had previously been going on in the Sejm. Reports on the Sejm committee meetings were very scarce. Moreover, TV coverage of the plenary debates was outright grotesque."

Andrzej Werblan (PUWP): "The Sejm reality was not so bad as it is being thought, and today it also is not so good as one would like it to and as it should be.... The influence of M.P.'s criticism on reality was not big, actually it was slim. This was a glaring evidence of the supremacy of the executive power over the legislature. The legislative work used to generate less public notice but was probably a more effective part of the Sejm activity. The Sejm passed many good laws. Many acts were considerably changed compared to their government proposed drafts. Even if later they were passed unanimously, this unanimity was often preceded by a very long process of amendments.

"Over the entire 30-year period the Sejm was enhancing its role only a times of turns and social upheavals, that is when the force and efficiency of the executive power was weakened. The role of the Sejm used to wither away when the situation got stabilized, when the executive and administrative power was regaining strength and self-assurance.

"At present, the question is to institutionalize forever the positive, democratic features which already have surfaced several times in the periods of tension." Sejm Deputy Andrzej Werblan went on to say that "the supremacy of the executive power over the legislature stems from the fact that the political forces ruling the nation, first of all the PUWP, realized their role mainly through direct control of the executive bodies. This is a simplified way of executing power, leading consequently to belittling the role of the representative organs."

Deputy Sylwester Zawadzki added that "currently we are dealing with the fact that the political leadership does not identify itself with the government. Criticism of the government is not being understood today as it once used to be--as a blow against the political leadership, as an assault on the political line. I could tell even more, the party understands the need for the Sejm's control of the government. It is an element that increases the effectiveness of the political leadership."

Sejm, Government Relationship

LD280610 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 27 Mar 81

["New Relations Between Sejm and Government"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Mar (PAP)--The latest session of the Sejm was a period of exceptionally active cooperation between the Sejm and government and a period of looking for new and better forms of cooperation, says (Andrzej Dzierzanowski) in TRYBUNA LUDU.

Both the Sejm and the government, the author says, have changed their workstyle and have harmonized it with the pace of the transformations taking place in Poland. The Sejm has ceased to recieve for its seal of approval government reports and decisions but has, in accordance with its constitutional powers, begun to receive government reports about its intentions and actions. New powers give the deputies greater opportunities to carry out everyday supervision over the activities of ministers and the ministries they oversee. This is now no longer a formal supervision but a systematic observation of the government's work. A deputy is now not forced to look for an opportunity to ask a minister questions about matters troubling him. He has the opportunity of doing this not only at a Sejm commission session but also during plenary debates. The public has approved of the practice of deputies' asking questions and the government providing answers. This is also a kind of supervision of the government. Deputies' questions touch on various matters, for instance, environmental protection, the local economy, pensions, the legal status of industrial trade unions and the distribution of goods between individual voivodships.

The government has adopted a new stance on the matter of legislative practice. To date the government has been used to presenting completed draft legal acts to the Sejm speaker. A. (Dzierzanowski) cites the drafting of the censorship bill as an example of the new legislative work practices. This bill (?is being) drafted jointly by the Ministry of Justice, the consultative committee of creative and scientific associations and by the National Consultative Commission of the Solidarity trade union. During the work on the bill the sides failed to coordinate (?their positions). The Sejm commissions which dealt with a preliminary draft of the law proposed that the government should hand over this bill in its incomplete form. The Sejm will draw up the final form of this law.

The new style of work by the Sejm ensures conditions for supervising the government, the elementary task of which is, after all, the implementation of the country's socio-economic policy which is mapped out by the plans adopted by the Sejm.

FINANCE MINISTRY STATEMENT ON FOREIGN CURRENCY

LD281828 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Here is an explanation from the Ministry of Finance on the issue of payments from foreign currency accounts:

The Ministry of Finance has explained that no restrictions have been introduced on withdrawals from foreign currency accounts. The banks will make all efforts to ensure full services to clients carrying out foreign currency transactions.

JARUZELSKI MEETS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OFFICIALS

LD270522 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] Yesterday, President of the Council of Ministers Wojciech Jaruzelski received the Presidium of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] led by its president, Prof. Aleksander Geysztor, Vice Presidents and Professors Jan Karol Kostrzewski, Jerzy Litwiniszyn, Leonard Sosnowski, Maciej Wiewiorowski and the scientific secretary of PAN, Prof. Zdzislaw Kaczmarek.

The meeting was also attended by Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary Prof Roman Ney, Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski and Minister of Higher Education and Technology Prof Janusz Gorski.

The current situation in the country was discussed. Those taking part in the meeting expressed their support for the government of Premier Jaruzelski and pledged their readiness to help restore stability in the country.

USE OF VOIVODSHIP OFFICE BUILDINGS REVIEWED

LD280502 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Special teams, set up in accordance with the premier's directive for the review of office and administration buildings in order to find out if their present use is justified, have been operating in all voivodships.

The results of the review have been promising. In 17 voivodships, 152 buildings have been reclaimed for housing purposes. In 16 voivodships, 79 buildings will be used for health service requirements, including 11 for hospitals, 54 for clinics, 9 for childrens' homes and 5 for nursery schools.

In Bielsko-Biala for example, a building occupied by the municipal committee of the PZPR, which consists of 44 offices, has been earmarked for use as a voivodship hospital and a clinic.

In 13 voivodships, 22 buildings have been handed over to schools and nursery schools. In numerous buildings, hostels and workers hotels will be installed. Among others, nurses in Gdansk have been give a hotel.

EXCESS OFFICE SPACE BEING REALLOCATED TO OTHER USES

LD280930 Warsaw PAP in English 0804 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Mar (PAP)--Special teams appointed by order of the premier have been busy inspecting office premises throughout the country looking for extra rooms to be converted to residential space or serve as seats for social institutions.

One hundred fifty-two premises, a total of some 6,600 square metres, have already been reallocated to housing in 17 voivodships.

Seventy-nine buildings in 16 voivodships will go to the health service, 11 of them will house hospitals, 54 health centres, others will go to children's homes and creches. In 6 other voivodships, some 22,000 square meters of superfluous office space will go to the health service. The 44-room PUWP city committee building in Bielski-Biala will be converted to a hospital and a health centre.

Schools and kindergartens in 13 voivodships have received 22 buildings previously occupied by offices. In further four voivodships, schools have gained 8,000 square metres. The building of PUWP city committee in Olsztyn will also serve educational purposes.

The 15-room house of the voivodship office in Wroclaw will now [words indistinct] of a theater school. In Czestochowa, the hotel [word indistinct] of the voivodship office will be converted to a school for disabled children.

TEAM CONSIDERING PEOPLE'S COUNCIL BILL MEETS

LD262322 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1230 GMT 26 Mar 81

[Text] Deputy Chairman of the Council of State Kazimierz Secomski has chaired a plenary session of the team set up by the Council of State to draft a bill on People's councils. The team basically discussed the proposals and suggestions for the bill put forward at the previous session as well as demands already submitted by some People's Councils and local activists. Changes have been agreed upon in the bill's underlying assumptions aimed at further improving upon the proposed solutions. The purpose of these changes is to strengthen the independence of People's Councils and to increase their powers in managing the local economy and in their influence on socioeconomic and cultural development, thus helping them meet the demands of the population.

PZPR VOIVODSHIP COMMITTEE PLENUM HELD IN KALISZ

LD281640 Warsaw Domestic Service Polish 1600 GMT 28 Mar 81

[text] A PZPR voivodship committee plenum has been held in Kalisz. It was the second part of the session which began in February this year.

The plenum appraised the current sociopolitical situations in both the region and the country, and defined the main direction of actions for the voivodship party echelon before the ninth party congress.

Participants in the plenum adopted a resolution in which they express deep anxiety in connection with the events in the country and in the region, the escalation of tension and the destabilization of socioeconomic life.

Taking into account the postulates of the basic party organizations, it was decided to ask the Central Committee to carry out before the ninth party congress an election campaign in conformity with regulations guaranteeing democratic principles of election of authority members and also the election of delegates; to convene the ninth party congress as soon as possible; and to publish the congress theses, a report on the state of the economy and the draft of the 3-year stabilization program.

Taking part in the debates was Stanislaw Marszal, deputy head of the Central Committee Cadre Department.

TASS CITED ON 'EXTREMELY TENSE' SITUATION

LD292146 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] The Soviet news agency TASS in today's report on the situation in Poland describes it as extremely tense. TASS writes that the leaders of KOR [Committee for Social Self-Defense] who entrenched themselves in the Solidarity union are strenuously preparing to hold the general strike announced for next Tuesday. TASS says that the KOR leaders are using all possible means to make the talks with the government concerning the matter of averting this strike more difficult.

TASS also reports that local Solidarity branches are striving to discredit security and militia organs.

TASS also carried a commentary today in which it accused the U.S. administration of interfering in Poland's internal affairs and of encouraging forces that oppose the Polish government.

JOURNALISTS BOARD DENIES TV TRANSMITTER DISRUPTION

LD292040 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] The Main Board of the Association of Polish Journalists would like to inform all editorial boards of newspapers and television stations that in connection with information being disseminated today about disruptions in the work of a television transmitter mounted on the Palace of Culture and Science it has been learned that the work of both television emission teams [presumably referring to both programs of Polish television] has been going on without any disruptions.

Responsible employees of the television central panel have assured the PZPR plant committee that they will maintain emission of both programs in any situation [words indistinct] leaders of the committee. Television emission centers are being guarded with special vigilance. Their security is being guaranteed by permanent teams.

Denials of Roadblocks

LD291934 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1900 GMT 29 Mar 81

[text] Following numerous enquiries from our listeners we herewith announce that, as reported by the editorial team of the ECHO DNIA of Kielce, according to the traffic section of the voivodship command of Citizens Militia in Kielce, between Sucheoniow and Laczna, there have been no obstacles, and there are still no obstacles, roadblocks or any other traffic obstructions on the E7 route between Suchedniow and Laczna. Also, no road works have been or are being conducted and this section of the road is clearly signposted.

AFP Report

NC291702 Paris AFP in English 1658 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Mar (AFP)--Polish television authorities today denied a Soviet news report according to which "provocators" managed to seize for a short while a television relay centre in Warsaw.

The accusation by TASS news agency was one of several made today by Soviet media which said the situation in Poland was "very tense".

Local branches of the independent union federation Solidarity at Kielce and Legnica issued formal denials of the TASS reports that subsersive elements were active in their regions.

The Legnica branch also said that there was no truth in the Soviet news agency's claim that "lists of people who should be isolated" in the event of a strike were being drawn up.

The branch said that no instructions had been issued for the drawing up of such lists as TASS reported, and that in any case such lists were "absolutely useless."

The Kielce branch also categorically denied another TASS report that roadblocks had been established in the area. The reports are totally false, the union organization insisted.

REACTION TO VARIOUS U.S. STATEMENTS ON SITUATION

James Baker Comments

LD271858 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] The morning bulletin of the American television network, CBS, carried an interview with one of the U.S. President's closest workers, James Baker.

He stated, and we quote: We regard the situation in Poland as very tense. We look on its further development with concern. Baker recalled that Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski is to pay a visit to Washington next week. Talks with him will center on economic aid for Poland. Certain decisions on this matter have already been taken. Payments of Polish debts to the United States have been rescheduled on a long-term basis. The new moves will soon be discussed.

White House Statement

LD271916 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1818 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] A meeting of the U.S. National Security Council took place in Washington yesterday. After the meeting the White House press spokesman read a statement on the situation in Poland in the presence of President Reagan.

Our attitude regarding the situation in Poland, the statement says, has been clear and unchanging since the very outset. We believe that Poland should have the opportunity to resolve its own problems without any interference from outside.

We have scrupulously implemented such a policy in our statements and have at the same time acted with magnanimity in response to Poland's requests to us for economic aid.

The statement emphasizes that any attempts to use force in resolving Polish issues bound to give rise to deep alarm on the part of all those who are interested in the peaceful development of Poland, and could have serious consequences for the whole of East-West relations.

'Puzzlement' Over U.S. Warnings

LD281812 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] In a commentary devoted to the White House statement in connection with the situation in Poland, F. Niec writes in ZYCIE WARSZAWY:

Today, when our country is doing a balancing act on the brink of a precipice that separates internal stabilization--something that is not all that easy to achieve though feasible--from chaos, every word, every [word indistinct] on the subject of Poland has particular weight. This is especially true if the U.S. President happens to speak. In view of this, we have a moral right and even a duty to express a certain puzzlement in connection with the warnings voiced in Washington toward the authorities of our country.

Washington's concern its understandable. However, it is not acceptable to express it in this way where sovereign states are concerned. Ever since August 1980 the government and the party have been trying by all means available to them--not without errors and delays--to implement the principle of resolving all contentious issues in a spirit of compromise and reconciliation. This is the only acceptable path today and the only chance of preserving internal calm, our territorial integrity and sovereignty. A departure from this path is fraught with incalculable consequences, a national tragedy. The government and the party realize this, so Washington's dramatic warnings are, it seems, superfluous.

These warnings are also addressed to the USSR. Alleged discord within the socialist community is a direct and, let us assume, an unintended result of American statements. The socialist community has been, is and will continue to be the guarantee of our independence and sovereignty. The community believes that despite everything we shall manage to solve our problems on our own and in a spirit of compromise and agreement.

We understand that some people are finding it more and more difficult to believe this. However, it is this faith that we need in particular today.

'Pessimistic Hypotheses'

LD281728 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Mar 81

["Against Pessimistic Hypotheses"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Mar [Words indistinct] made by a White House spokesman following a session of the U.S. National Security Council TRYBUNA LUDU writes. This statement concerned itself not only with the current situation but, above all, with a hypothetical situation. Moreover, these hypotheses are founded on pessimistic and frequently even catastrophic forecasts.

Even though we understand the interest in our problems displayed by the Western states and would not deny that often this interest is caused by concern for peace on the European Continent, all the same we see that in many cases it smacks of strategic calculations, the newspaper emphasizes.

We think that our Western partners are aware that the Polish authorities consistently follow the principle of resolving all controversial problems in our country's life solely through negotiations, with the aid of dialogue and political solutions. All the declarations made by Polish leaders state this principle; the practice of the Polish Government is identical. It is not dictated by a desire to create good opinions about us abroad, but by our own national interests, the newspaper of the PZPR Central Committee further stresses.

We understand them and proceed on a broad basis concerning international issues. Our approach to our relations with the United States is the same. It goes without saying that we are also interested in developing Polish-American cooperation in every field of activity on the basis of equality between partners and also on the basis of peaceful rapprochement between the East and the West.

Senate, State Department Remarks

LD281432 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] The U.S. Senate passed a resolution yesterday warning that the internationalization of the conflict in Poland could have serious consequences for the entire East-West relations.

A U.S. State Department spokesman gave an explanation which says that the information given by this department yesterday about the appointment of a special working group to follow the development of the situation in Poland was not accurate. The only thing examined was the possibility of appointing such a group, but a decision has nor been taken on this matter.

The situation in our country is still, just as before, being observed by the Polish Section within the Eastern Europe Division of the State Department.

Further Washington Reaction

LD291630 Warsaw PAP in English 1440 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Report by PAP correspondent Stanislaw Glabinski]

[Text] Washington, 29 Mar (PAP)--Developments in Poland have become the No 1 subject of statements by members of the Washington administration, and commentaries and reports in the U.S. media.

The direction the developments in Poland have assumed arouse growing concern here. In these days, Washington has unequivocally viewed Poland as a very serious and dangerous hotbed of the world tension whose consequences can hardly be predicted.

It is indisputable that the U.S. public opinion has genuine sympathy for Poland and the Poles, but one cannot ignore that especially in the past (?few) days misgivings, doubts and concern over the U.S. own interests and security of the world have started prevailing over this sympathy. Even a superficial examination of statements by leading members of the administration shows that they consider Polish events as carrying the threat of a very grave and dangerous international crisis.

U.S. Defence Secretary Weinberger expressed the belief that any attempt to solve Polish problems by force could easily lead to the complete disruption of the East-West disarmament dialogue. (?This) would mean the start of the totally unbridled race of nuclear and conventional armaments with all consequences of this phenomenon. Studying Washington statements and commentaries of the local press, one must notice that also the Polish society would be considerably held responsible for such a tragic turn of events.

Haig Cited

LD292334 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] Alexander Haig, American secretary of state, stated yesterday in front of NBC television cameras that the situation in Poland continues to be exceptionally tense but that there are signs that it will be possible to avoid the worst thanks to the strengthening of moderate tendencies.

According to an AFP report the secretary of state also stated that any use of force in the internal affairs of Poland would have consequences that would be dangerous and difficult to foresee.

Haig also added that the adoption of a repressive course would complicate and make more difficult the granting of economic and foodstuff aid by the West to Poland.

More on Haig, Percy

LD301154 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] The present situation in our country continues to be the subject of great interest, fears and statements throughout the world.

In Washington matters relating to the tense situation in Poland were touched on in television interviews with Alexander Haig, secretary of state, and the influential Senator Charles Percy, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The former expressed the hope that the further aggravation of the crisis in Poland might be avoided if moderation gains the upper hand.

Senator Percy went the furthest in his, quite frankly, catastrophic forecasts. He expressed the view that in the event things got as far as a drama in Poland, then the United States would make a number of moves--moves which at present are being prepared. Among others, it would start to build up the military of China.

Further on U.S. Comments

LD300422 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] The events in Poland relegated all other international events and, to a great extent, even domestic events to the background in the United States. Yesterday various American television programs dealing with public affairs featured the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Charles Percy, Secretary of State Alexander Haig and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. All of them found that the situation in Poland was very dramatic and that its further development would be of enormous and even decisive importance for the whole international situation.

The direction in which the events develop, said the above politicians, will decide the future of relations between the East and West, the fate of disarmament talks and the possibilities of an international dialogue.

It was Senator Percy who went furthest in his truly catastrophic forecast. He expressed the opinion that if there is a drama in Poland the United States will make a number of moves which are now in preparation. Among other things it will begin to build up the military power of China. The senator made it public that a program for such a move is virtually ready. In his opinion, in the event of any attempts at providing a military solution to the Polish problem, this program will find support in Congress.

JAGIELSKI STOPS OVER IN PARIS EN ROUTE TO U.S.

LD301630 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski, en route to Washington, made a stopover in Paris today. According to AFP, he will be received by President Valery Giscard d'Estaing and will have a meeting with Foreign Minister Jean-Francois Poncet.

DEPUTY PREMIER MEETS GISCARD, FRANCOIS-PONCET

For reportage on Deputy Premier Jagielski's Paris meetings with French Foreign Minister Francois-Poncet and President Ciscard, see the France section of the 31 March Western Europe DAILY REPORT.

POPE VIEWS CRISIS, CITES HELSINKI FINAL ACT

LD291736 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] Pope John Paul II, speaking in Rome to the many thousands-strong crowds gathered in St Peter's Square, today again appealed for a peaceful settlement of the present crisis in Poland. He also said that the Polish nation has every right to solve its problems exclusively through its own resources.

The pope recalled that the Final Act of the Helsinki conference on European security and cooperation confirmed the principle according to which all states who were signatories to this document should refrain from all intervention direct or indirect, individual or collective, into the internal affairs or external affairs within the internal competence of another state participating in the conference, regardless of the mutual relationship betwqen the states concerned.

WALDHEIM CALLS FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF CRISIS

LD291814 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, replying to numerous questions from journalists, today expressed his hope that the Polish crisis will be solved in a peaceful manner by Poles themselves.

WEST EUROPEAN MINISTERS TO DISCUSS AID TO POLAND

LD271900 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has appealed to West European countries to increase economic aid to Poland. According to the FRG Foreign Ministry, immediate food aid for our country is going to be discussed at the beginning of next week by West European agriculture ministers at a meeting in Brussels.

CEAUSESCU WISHES REAGAN 'COMPLETE RECOVERY'

AU310915 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0900 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Text] President of the Socialist Republic of Romania Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu sent the following telegram to U.S. President Ronald Reagan:

Esteemed Mr President. I was deeply affected to learn of the attempt on your life. Expressing my indignation toward this (?reprehensible) act, I am happy to learn that your condition is good, and I want to wish you complete recovery so that you may resume your highly responsible functions as soon as possible.

CEAUSESCU SPEAKS AT 26 MARCH AWARD CEREMONY

AU301621 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Mar 81 pp 1, 3

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu at the 26 March ceremony at the Grand National Assembly in Bucharest at which orders were awarded to county organizations and economic and research units]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, I want to begin by conveying warm congratulations to the counties, enterprises, cooperatives, institutes, collective leaderships and all working people in those units which today were awarded high orders of the Socialist Republic of Romania' (loud applause)

We are now at the end of the 5-year plan. Hence these orders and distinctions were awarded for activities in both 1980 and throughout the 5-year plan. This explains the fact that certain counties, such as Cluj and Arges, which have received important orders in past years, are again in first place; Arges County is now being awarded the title "Hero of Socialist Labor" for its results in agriculture. (applause)

I fully understand the pride felt by those who placed first in the competition carried out in the preceding 5-year plan. Indeed, all counties, agricultural enterprises and units, research institutes and collectives in other sectors exerted consistent efforts throughout the country. However, as is only natural, the counties and units with the best results won this vast competition. Some of them have taken first place every year, which means that they maintained their "momentum"--to use a term from athletics--that they organized their work well and were aware that the work they had was not for a week or a month, but for an entire 5-year plan; they husbanded their forces so as to maintain their lead, or in one of the leading places, until the end of the 5-year plan.

I am stressing this because in order to obtain good results in competition, in developing the economy, science, education and culture and all socioeconomic sectors, one needs a good labor organization, discipline, a sense of responsibility and devotion and united efforts by all working people belonging to the collective, because only active participation by all working people can ensure good results in all areas.

Hence, once again, I want to convey warm congratulations to all working people in the counties and units which were awarded orders and distinctions of the Socialist Republic of Romania today. (loud and prolonged applause)

Undoubtedly this reflects the appreciation of the party and state leadership and of all our people--masters of all material and intellectual assets and of everything that is achieved in our country. Everything that was accomplished was devoted to the people, to their well-being and happiness, to the cause of socialism and communism in Romania! (loud and prolonged applause)

However, I think it would be unjust not to convey congratulations to all the collectives of working people--including those which did not place and hence did not earn orders or distinctions--because all collectives of working people, all counties and institutions made efforts and worked to fulfill the plan. The general results attained in socio-economic development are the result of the active labor of our wonderful workers class--the leading class in society--of the peasantry, intelligentsia and other social categories, of all working people, regardless of nationality, of all our people. Whether or not they came out among the leaders in the competition, they all made and continue to make an active contribution to Romania's great achievements along the path of socialism and communism! (loud applause)

I hope that this solemn ceremony--which is indeed a festivity devoted to creative work in our country--will constitute a powerful incentive for all the working people, for all our people, for the leadership of counties, enterprises, institutions and of course ministries, prompting them to work even better in the new 5-year plan, to obtain the best possible results in 1981, the first year of the 5-year plan, in completely fulfilling the plan in all areas, and thus laying a sound foundation for the provisions of the entire 1981-85 5-year plan, in accordance with the 12th congress decisions.

As is well known, as the major objective of the new historical stage, the 12th congress established the achievement of a new quality in all areas and Romania's transition to a new stage of development, as well as raising the production forces to a superior level and increasing the material and intellectual well-being of the people.

Considering the complex international economic and political situation, it becomes even clearer that we must make special efforts to better organize labor in all sectors and to strengthen order and discipline with a view to optimally fulfilling all the targets set for this 5-year plan. All conditions have been supplied and we can look optimistically to the future, to the end of 1985, when all the targets established by the 12th party congress will have been attained.

Naturally, it is difficult to anticipate who will hold first place in 1985. In this contest, each of the 41 counties--including Bucharest Municipality--each of the thousands of enterprises, state and cooperative agricultural units, hundreds of institutes, construction, transport and other units has a chance and is competing for first place. For myself, I shall be content if several counties and enterprises place first, if many have such results, fulfilling and exceeding the plan. I shall be content if we give first and second place to several counties and units, and if only a few do not manage to receive any award. Depending on the work of each collective as of this year and until the end of the 5-year plan, a large number of counties and units in all branches can place first or take one of the first places. There are favorable conditions for that. I am convinced that today's festivities will constitute a powerful incentive for all collectives of working people in the vast competition that is taking place throughout the country.

I will not now refer to the specific targets we have in each field; they are well known. However, I would like to repeat what I said at the end of the Central Committee plenary session, namely that we must all begin practical activities--and this applies to the Grand National Assembly deputies as well--to fulfill the tasks for this year. Intensive work must be carried out in agriculture to complete the sowing in good conditions and to proceed with crop maintenance work; every possible effort must be made to begin the first year of the 5-year plan with good results.

With these thoughts and in this spirit, once again I want to convey congratulations and wishes for increasing success to all the collectives that took the first places, and to all other collectives of working people in our country! I want to express thanks on behalf of the party-state leadership to all those who spared no effort to obtain these results!

I am convinced that during this 5-year plan, too, efforts will be made and we will succeed in raising our fatherland to a higher level of socioeconomic development, in increasing the people's well-being and happiness, in strengthening the country's independence and sovereignty, increasing Romania's contribution to a policy of peace, detente and national independence and to building a better and more just world. (loud applause)

I wish you, all the working people and all our people good health and great happiness! (loud and prolonged applause)

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES DEPARTING PAKISTANI AMBASSADOR

AU301947 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1845 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Bucharest, 30 Mar (AGERPRES)--President Nicolae Ceausescu received on March 30 Riazuddin Ahmed, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, who paid a farewell call on ending his mission to Romania. The talk on the occasion passed in a cordial atmosphere.

AVRAM RECEIVES TURKISH MINISTER KOCATOPCU

AU301950 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Bucharest, 30 Mar (AGERPRES)--Talks started in Bucharest on March 30 between Ioan Avram, minister of machine-building industry, and Sahap Kocatopcu, minister of industry and technology of Turkey. The two ministers analyzed modalities for the diversification and deepening of the economic cooperation between the two countries through joint construction of objectives in machine-building.

OANCEA ADDRESSES UN ECONOMIC SESSION IN GENEVA

AU301942 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1855 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Geneva, 30 Mar (AGERPRES)--In the 36th session of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, Romania's representative, Deputy Foreign Minister Constantin Oancea, who opened the inaugural session, stressed the higher responsibilities devolving in the current international situation to the member-states of the commission, signatories to the Helsinki Final Act, in the promotion of the European peoples' fundamental interests of freedom and independence, of security and collaboration in Europe and the world over.

The speaker pointed out that in this international context, considering also the difficulties in the world economy, the lack of actual progress on the road of building the new economic order, the growing burden of the military expenditures, it is the more necessary that the UN/ECE assert itself as a viable body in encouraging the dialogue and cooperation, contribute to promoting the unity of fundamental interests of the European peoples. He pointed to the need for the UN/ECE to participate, alongside the other bodies within the UN system, in the efforts for the eradication of underdevelopment and the actuation of the dialogue for the establishment of the new world economic order.

Ambassador Ulrich Saham (Federal Germany), president-elect of the 36th session of the UN/ECE, and the chief delegate of the Polish People's Republic expressed thanks for the constructive contribution made by Romania's representative, who had chaired the commission in the last year, to the smooth run of the commission's activities.

Numerous delegates warmly appreciated the constructive contribution of Romania, of President Nicolae Ceausescu himself to the promotion of progress and peace in Europe and worldwide, to increasing the role of the UN in the attainment of these major objectives of contemporary world.

TRADE UNION PLENARY SESSION HELD 28 MARCH

AU281924 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1905 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Bucharest, 28 Mar (AGERPRES)--A plenary meeting of the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania [UGSR] took place on March 28, 1981.

The plenary meeting analysed the report of the UGSR Central Council on the activity carried out since the previous congress and the tasks incumbent on the trade unions in the implementation of the resolutions of the Twelfth RCP Congress and suggestions regarding the amendments to the trade unions statute. The plenary meeting unanimously approved the two documents to be submitted for debate to the Congress of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania.

CONSUMER COOPERATIVES PLENUM ELECTS NEW CHAIRMAN

AU281926 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1909 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Bucharest, 28 Mar (AGERPRES)--A plenary meeting of the Council of the Central Union of the Consumer Cooperatives (Centrocoop) was held on March 28. The plenary meeting set a series of measures conducive to the fulfillment of the 1981 plan. The plenary meeting decided the release of Gheorghe Rosu from the office of Centrocoop chairman, as he is to be entrusted with other tasks. The plenary meeting unanimously elected Paul Niculescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Council of the Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives (Centrocoop).

NICU CEAUSESCU ELECTED UN YOUTH OFFICIAL

AU301937 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Vienna, 30 Mar (AGERPRES)--The UN Consultative Committee on the International Year of Youth, whose proceedings started in Vienna on March 30 elected by consensus as its chairman Nicu Ceausescu, secretary of the CC of the UCY, chairman of the Association of Romanian Youth and Students for the United Nations.

On the occasion, numerous representatives of the committee's member states expressed appreciation of the Romanian initiatives at the UN, which had found consecration in the proclamation of the International Year of Youth, expressing their support to the proposal for Romania to chair the consultative committee.

In the address made at the inauguration of the proceedings, Nicu Ceausescu, chairman of the committee, emphasized that the preparations for and the marking of the International Year of Youth should give opportunity for assessing from multiple points of view the current problems of youth, with a veiw to singling out efficient modalities of ensuring the young generation's participation in the process of national development, in the settlement in the peoples' interests of the major problems of contemporary epoch.

'ENERGETIC ACTIONS' TAKEN TO CURB DANUBE FLOODING

AU271918 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] Bucharest, 27 Mar (AGERPRES)--Energetic actions are being taken these days in the Romanian sector of the Danube in order to prevent from overflowing the river whose discharge has outgrown the flood marks. Important human forces, availing of sufficient amounts of equipment and materials have been permanently working on topping, reinforcing and watching the dams which protect the localities, industrial units and farm lands.

This one is estimated to be the strongest highwater ever reported on the Danube. For instance, the highest level of water was on March 26 of 903 cm, a level never reported before in the zone.

The climax of the highwater has already left behind the zone, all along the over 100 km of the left bank of the Danube, yet the water level is still high. Water flowed over the Crobeta-Turnu Severin, damaged also the railway west the town, flooded peasant farmstead in four communes and farm lands, forests. Farther, at Ostrovul Mare, at the building site of the Iron Gates II Hydro Electric Power and Navigation System, the dams, made higher now, stood the water and protected the building site.

The climax of the highwater is now reported in the Gruiacalafat-Corabia-Zimnicea sector, where the flood marks are topped by up to 206 cm. Farm lands without dams were flooded there, harbour installations were damaged at Cetate and Calafat. However, the major economic and social objectives are safe. Over 10,000 people and the necessary equipment work there.

In the other sectors, where the climax of the highwater is expected in the next days (April 1 at Giurgui, April 3-4 at Calarasi, April 4 at Cernavoda, April 5-6 at Braila, April 6 at Galati, April 7 at Tulcea), thousands of workers, peasants and military work under the leadership of the county commands for fighting floods, in order to build new dams, raise higher and consolidate the existing ones. Important forces are mobilized on protecting the endangered inhabited areas, the economic objectives, especially the large iron and steel combine in Calarasi, the dammed arable area in Insula Mare a Brailei, the building sites at Cernavoda, the harbours and shipyards of Braila and Galati, other enterprises and localities.

As regards the harbour activity, it is broken in the harbours between Drobeta-Turnu Severin and Corabia. The harbours downstream Corabia, and, naturally, those of Braila, Galati and Tulecea work only partially. The Danube traffic is restricted in the Drobeta-Turnu Severin-Braila sector.

Water Levels Reported

AU291903 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] Bucharest, 29 Mar (AGERPRES)--The waters of the Danube, from Bazias to Gruia (Iron Gate II), are going down by 10 to 12 cm from the culmination. The same will happen in the [name indistinct] -Corabia section the next days. The culmination will hit Turnu Magurele on Monday, at a level by 15 to 20 cm lower than the expected peak, attaining the mark 730 cm. Downstream, from Zimnicea to Tulcea, waters will go up between 5 and 12 cm each day over the March 31-April 7 period. Since the Romanian inland waters keep within normal flow limits, the high flood in the lower part of the Danube, between the Olt and the Prut, will be diminished, the river mouths letting in the river overflow.

Reports received by the county flood commissions show that the measures taken so far led to positive results, that all the protecting dams resisted the present levels of the water, the highest since the end of the previous century.

BRIEFS

TRANSPORT AGREEMENT WITH IRAQ--Bucharest, 24 Mar (AGERPRES)--An agreement was signed in Bucharest on March 24 between the Government of Romania and of the Republic of Iraq regarding passenger and goods international road transport. The document stipulates a series of measures meant to facilitate goods transportation between the two countries in conditions of corresponding efficiency. The agreement was signed for Romania by Vasilie Bulucea, minister of transport and telecommunications, and for Iraq by Sa'don Ghaydan, deputy prime minister, minister of communications. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 24 Mar 81 AU]

MIJATOVIC TELEGRAM WISHES REAGAN RAPID RECOVERY

LD310822 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0741 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Mar (TANJUG)--Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent a telegram to U.S. President Ronald Reagan, in which he says: "We were disturbed to receive the news of the senseless attack on your life. On behalf of the SFRY Presidency and the people of Yugoslavia, I send you, Mr President, friendly and warm wishes for your rapid and successful recovery."

MEDIA REPORT REAGAN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT

Belgrade Radio

AU302157 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Report from Washington by Goran Milic]

[Text] Immediately prior to the beginning of this program, the TANJUG Washington correspondent reported on the attempt on the life of U.S. President Reagan. According to the news report just carried by U.S. television, President Reagan is wounded. He was hit by one bullet in the left side of his chest. Jim Brady, the White House press secretary, and two other persons were seriously wounded.

Here first of all is a report from Washington by our correspondent Goran Milic on the attempt on the life of U.S. President Reagan:

[Begin recording] Ronald Reagan was hit in the chest and is now in the emergency room of a Washington hospital. According to the latest report from the White House, Reagan is conscious and his state is described as stable. The bullet passed under the left arm and barely missed the heart. Doctors are discussing whether they should perform surgery to remove the bullet. They probably will do so, but it is not known when.

We say on television here how the attempt on his life was made at 2030 Yugoslav time. Ronald Reagan was coming out of the Washington Hilton Hotel, where he had had talks with representatives of the largest U.S. trade union organization. Just when he wanted to address journalists, John W. Hinckley, a white man, age 23, fired six bullets from a revolver in the direction of the U.S. President from a distance of 3 meters. In the general commotion it was impossible to see clearly how the President's security people took Reagan to his automobile, but three bodies were left lying on the sidewalk of Florida Avenue in Washington: James Brady, White House press secretary, who was hit in the head--his state of health is described as very grave--and two men from security services who jumped the attacker. We saw in the television film how the policemen brought down and disarmed the attacker, whose motives have not been announced so far.

According to some claims, which are difficult to verify now because the situation here is very confused, the attacker was not alone; shots were also fired at the U.S. President from other parts of the mass of people gathered there. Radio and television programs have been interrupted here and new reports and new details about the assassination attempt are being received every moment. Vice President Bush has interrupted his visit to Texas and is returning to Washington. We will also report new information when it becomes available. [end recording]

[The following news report is carried at the end of 2100 GMT newscast at 2117 GMT] And here in conclusion once again the news report from Washington: Own correspondent Goran Milic reports that at about 2030 Yugoslav time an attempt was made on the life of President Reagan.

According to the latest reports, the attacker fired six bullets, and one of the first two hit President Reagan in the left side of the chest. It is reported that the state of health of the U.S. President is grave, but that he is conscious. The identity of the attacker has been just reported: He is a 20-year-old white man, John Hinckley from Evergreen, Colorado. The first television commentaries note that it was a veritable miracle that the attacker failed to assassinate the U.S. head of state in view of the proximity from which he fired.

Zagreb Domestic Service

LD303136 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] We have just received a report from the TANJUG correspondent in Washington that an attempt was made on the life of U.S. President Ronald Reagan this evening. According to the report just issued by U.S. television, the President was hit in the left side of his chest by a single bullet. The attempt was made just as the president was leaving the Hilton Hotel in Washington, where he had attended the meeting of the transport workers labor union. The man who did the shooting and whose name has not yet been released fired from a fairly close range. Television cameras, which filmed the whole dramatic scene, showed that three more people were wounded from the shots fired, one of them being Jim Brady, the White House press secretary.

And here is the latest report: The man fired six shots, one of which hit President Reagan. The condition of the U.S. President is said to be grave but he is conscious. The identity of the man has also just been released: He is John Hinckley from Evergreen, Colorado.

GRLICKOV RECEIVES PCI CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER

LD310342 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1013 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Mar (TANJUG)--Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, today received Romano Ledda, director of the Center for the Study of International Affairs and member of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party [PCI], who is visiting our country at the invitation of the Institute for International Affairs and Economy. In brief talks they exchanged views on some topical issues of international relations and on the activities of the LCY and the PCI in this sphere.

MILOS MINIC DISCUSSES NONALIGNED MOVEMENT

LD292352 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1441 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Sarajevo, 28 Mar (TANJUG)--Milos Minic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Federal Council for International Relations, has given Sarajevo Radio an interview on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the movement and policy of nonalignment. The interview is part of a joint project of Yugoslav radio stations in connection with the marking of this jubilee.

Asked about the meaning and significance of the emergence of the policy of nonalignment in the world, Milos Minic said that the creating of the movement had been of enormous historical importance for the whole world, primarily for the preservation of peace and security in the world. The policy of nonalignment and the creation of the Nonaligned Movement stopped the division of the world between the two antagonistic blocs that were created after World War II. Indeed, he said, it would be difficult even to imagine what things would look like today if it had not been for the creation of the Nonaligned Movement, and one wonders whether the world today would have been able to save itself from a great global war.

He went on to note that at its first conference the Nonaligned Movement defined its basic principles and goals, which are still unchanged today. Among these goals was the struggle for peace and for the breaking up of the [words indistinct] world colonial system.

Milos Minic then spoke about the historic significance of the six summits held by nonaligned countries, which at the same time marked the stages in the development of the movement. Speaking about the period from the conference in Colombo to the conference in Havana, he said that this had been a difficult period. Between the conference in Lusaka and the conference in Colombo, one can say, there was a period of gradual transition from the cold war to the relaxation of tension. The process of the relaxation of tension reached its culmination at the Conference on European Security and Cooperation in Helsinki. However, after the conference in Colombo, intensified rivalry started between the great powers and the blocs, so that the conference in Havana was held in an atmosphere of great tension and confrontation between the two antagonistic blocs and worked under very great pressure whose aim was to place the whole movement of nonaligned countries in the service of one great power or the other, of one bloc or the other. It was very meritorious of the conference in Havana that it opposed these pressures.

Answering a question on where in international relations the most notable results had been achieved, Milos Minic stressed a very big role played by the Nonaligned Movement in putting an end to the world colonial system. He also pointed out that the Nonaligned Movement had completely changed the situation within the United Nations. During the cold war the situation in the United Nations was very difficult. The great powers and the two blocs had turned the United Nations into a stage and battlefield of confrontations between them. As the Nonaligned Movement grew and the number of nonaligned countries increased, the policy of nonalignment became increasingly influential within the United Nations. At the latest UN session, for example, the greatest number of proposals and solutions [as received] to international problems came from nonaligned countries.

Talking about the present and further course of activity of the Nonaligned Movement, Milos Minic said that the conference of foreign ministers of nonaligned countries in New Delhi had been very successful. Its basic characteristic was to make nonaligned countries follow a more active line and to strengthen their action unity and their role in solving international problems, particularly in solving international crises and conflicts between countries by peaceful means. One of the basic characteristics of the conference was its attitude against interventionism; against any intervention, irrespective of its motives; and against military intervention by one country against another. It can be said that in this complex international situation the conference in New Delhi was the only bright spot. What the nonaligned now face is the activity on implementing the stands and conclusions adopted in New Delhi. I believe that we are at the beginning of a rich period of activity by nonaligned countries which will take us to the summit conference which will be held in September 1982 in Belgrade, Milos Minic said among other things in his interview with Sarajevo Radio.

DJURANOVIC INTERVIEWED ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

LD301056 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1003 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] Titograd, 29 Mar (TANJUG)--Veselin Djuranovic, President of the Federal Executive Council, has said that the creation of a united Yugoslav foreign currency market is in its final stages. The aim of the market is to improve the supply of the economy with raw and production materials both from abroad and from home producers.

Veselin Djuranovic also said that provisions would soon be introduced to simplify import procedures and to create conditions for faster imports for the purpose of establishing better supplies to the economy and the population.

Plans for a special program of promoting trade with developing countries is also currently under way, and in the Yugoslav Economic Chamber work is continuing on creating conditions for the fullest possible implementation of agreements with the EEC.

The president of the Federal Executive Council said this in an interview which will appear in tomorrow's edition of the Titograd newspaper POBUEDA, in which he talked about the current economic problems and actions aimed at overcoming difficulties.

Answering the question on why in recent times it has been "fashionable" to criticize governments, particularly the federal government, Veselin Djuranovic said that criticism of governments is as old as governing itself, but that in the case of the Federal Executive Council, on account of our system, it is a question of a position which is not identical with that of other social systems. In our country the implementation of policy, measures and legal regulations is in the broadest sense a matter concerning a large number of social subjects--self-management and state subjects. According to Djuranovic there is room for certain criticial comments when it comes to introducing adminsitrative measures.

However, he added that reasons for this state of affairs should be examined. Many years of economic instability, disrupted market, together with an inadequate, incomplete and inconsistent application of system-based relations, has slowed down the process of the affirmation of associated labor in the development of trends of expanded reproduction, all of which objectively favors the introduction of adminsitrative measures which legally belong within the jurisdiction of the Federal Executive Council when disruptions occur.

Answering a question on the relation between the state and self-management, Veselin Djuranovic said that the greatest danger at the present time would occur if we were not capable of securing the true self-management method of solving social problems and relations. "Concrete, painstaking and everyday work on developing self-management as a true socialist relation is our primary task today," said Djuranovic, and added that despite that, insufficient attention is being paid to organizing self-management. He also believes that execessive institutionalism unfavorably influences the success of self-management decision-making and that it also plays a part in the increase of administration and administering both in basic organizations of associated labor and in self-management interest communities.

Veselin Djuranovic is in favor of avoiding an uncritical attitude toward the contents of self-management, since such an attitude is inadmissible on account of the system of socialist self-management. Likewise, it did not contribute to the elimination of conflicts which are possible both in associated labor and among the republic's provinces. "Criticism of technobureaucratism and remnants of statism is therefore still topical. It is necessary even today. But no longer in a propaganda-political sense, but as a spur to creative action which will, above all, build in a concrete way self-management as a replacement for state regulations," said Veselin Djuranovic.

Pointing to the phenomenon of a very small number of collectives which did not question the conditions under which business is conducted, Veselin Djuranovic said that in this connection it should be explained what kind of business conditions there should be in the case of production which used 60 percent of its capacities and whose productivity is 30 percent below the socially accepted level, while at the same time its expenses were beyond any acceptable criterion. However, he added, the problem of conditions of business activities is also topical from the point of view of relations in the primary and secondary distribution. In this connection he assessed as positive the fact that last year saw the continuation of the tendency of increasing the economy's share in the distribution of income, which in 1979 stood at 63 percent and in 1980 at 64.2 percent.

Stating that he favored the implementation of the agreed policy which prescribed that the increase of wages should depend on productivity, Veselin Djuranovic warned that a rise of wages exceeding the rise of productivity would create new disruptions in the distribution of income and widen the gap between that which was created as a result of labor and the volume of consumption. he added that the increase in the cost of living at the beginning of the year made these relations very sensitive, so that the newly created situation required that action be taken in two directions. First, greater efforts on the part of all society should ensure socioeconomic conditions under which high price rises and a high rate of inflation would be halted. Also, measures for protecting the standard of living should be looked into in a more positive way. Djuranovic believes that both these tasks can be realized successfully only under conditions of a planned growth of production, so that efforts to increase production are therefore the most important task this year.

The president of the Federal Executive Council went on to say that for a consistent implementation of the agreed policy on prices this year it is "very important to have well-coordinated, efficient action by all those who make decisions on prices." "Every decision and every move in price policy, he said, should first consider the need to curb inflation. This is an imperative in the policy of economic stabilization for this year. The Federal Executive Council, in cooperation with the executive councils of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces and the community for prices will act in an organized and efficient way toward reaching this goal."

Explaining the causes of our economic difficulties, Veselin Djuranovic said that for us "domestic causes are the most important," and added that those coming from abroad should also be taken into account. Our country, he said, was hit by the energy crisis and by a big increase in the price of oil and some other raw materials. Measures which were undertaken contributed toward a reduction in oil imports last year and the same is expected to happen this year. However, we must insist on reducing the use of oil for energy purposes. A decisive turn should be made during the current 5-year plan and without wasting time a concrete answer should be given this year on how to develop our energy industry.

According to Djuranovic the greatest attention should be paid to the internal causes of economic instability. Among these are the extensive nature of development, instances of disharmony in the economic structure, regional leanings in economic development which hinder the distribution of labor and specialization, as well as the insufficient association of means for eliminating economic disproportions. Veselin Djuranovic also mentioned the dependence of our economic development on imports, while at the same time our economy turned its back on the criteria for business activity in the world economy, particularly the most developed section of the world economy with which we trade most.

Answering a question on the effects of the so-called package of measures introduced by the Federal Executive Council following the change of the exchange rate of the dinar, Veselin Djuranovic said that "the struggle for establishing favorable relations in the country's balance of payments will last for quite a long time." He favored strengthening the competitiveness of our exports, better organization and regional distribution. Measures undertaken last year, including the change of the dinar exchange rate, made possible a reduction in the balance of payments deficit to $2 billion. Djuranovic said that all measures of the economic policy were subordinate to the realization of this task and that other problems were overshadowed by it. "It is better that we acted in this way although that meant having to face problems of another kind," said Djuranovic. "This was a better course of action than attempting to solve those other problems and not this one, since in that case consequences would have been even graver and more difficult. I do not think this is sufficiently clear to everyone."

In this context Djuranovic spoke about the need for increasing production and creating more favorable conditions for exports, creating a common foreign currency market, improving supplies to the economy of raw and production materials from abroad and from domestic producers, simplifying import procedures and introducing other measures which are being prepared with the view to achieving the planned rate of production and exports.

Answering a question concerning criticism that our foreign currency system had favored the closing of the republics within their own boundaries and the breaking up of the common Yugoslav market, Djuranovic said that the federal councils are active in searching for solutions to problems in the foreign currency system. He said that the foreign currency system is not sufficiently integrally applied, it does not function as an organic whole, some system-based solutions were not applied in a synchronized way, and there are not sufficient links between them. "I believe that the efforts made at present by the federal councils will give an answer to the question on whether anything should be changed in the existing regulations. The most important attitude is that we should approach in a creative way all questions of the system and social practice and that we should continually develop the atmosphere of a democratic dialogue and well-argued equitable discussion on every open question," stressed Djuranovic.

Answering a question on where we would be at the end of 1985 if we realized the program of stabilization and achieved the planned rate of growth, Djuranovic first pointed to our determination to follow a course of slower economic growth in the next 5-year period and to aim decisively at the fastest possible transition from extensive to intensive development. This, he stressed, is at the same time the chief element of the stabilization policy. The realization of such policy of development, he added, means that at the end of 1985 the social product per head would reach $3,069, or about $900 more than at the start of the current medium-term plan. Our expected increased participation in world trade will be the result of a decisive orientation toward a rise in exports, which is one of the most significant strategic tasks in this medium-term plan.

The standard of living too, according to Djuranovic, will increase, though at a somewhat slower pace, at an annual rate of 2.7 percent so that at the end of 1985, compared with 1980, it would be 14.2 percent higher in real terms. In the next 5 years, employment for 1,300,000 workers and the construction of 750,000 new apartments is planned.

It is particularly important, Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, stressed, to strengthen the material base of associated labor as one of the most essential conditions for the development of self-managing socioeconomic relations and the basic motivating force of future development. At a higher level of development, the ruling self-managing income-based relations in the economy will be increasingly in evidence, and this will restrict decisively the space for technobureaucratic relations and for relapses into statism, as well as for various phenomena of monopolism in production trends. Under such conditions, Veselin Djuranovic said at the end of his interview with POBJEDA of Titograd, the operation of economic laws and of market criteria of economic activities will be intensified and at the same time conditions which encourage autarchic development weakened.

DJURANOVIC, OTHER OFFICIALS TOUR FLOODED AREAS

AU282112 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Slobodan Kovacevic report]

[Summary] Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council; Dragoljub Stavrec, vice president of the Federal Executive Council; Ivan Stambolic, president of the Serbian Executive Council; Veljko Markovic, vice president of the Serbian Executive Council and commander of the Republican Staff of Civil Defense; Zivorad Kovacevic, president of the Belgrade City Assembly; and a number of Belgrade city officials visited the flooded areas of Belgrade and Smederevo today.

At a meeting held at the staff of the Belgrade Civil Defense prior to the tour of the flooded area, Zivorad Kovacevic informed the federal and republican officials about the extent of the floods and the measures taken against the high water level. He said that the water levels of the Sava and Danube rivers are about 3.5 meters above normal and that the high water level will continue for another 2-3 days.

Kovacevic said that landslides pose a special problem. There have been 46 of them. Danger also exists that water will break dikes at certain points. In the Belgrade area, some 50,000 hectares of land are flooded, some 260 houses have been destroyed and four power lines threatened are by floods. Thanks to great efforts by members of the civil defense, the Yugoslav People's Army, youth, working people and citizens, the consequences of the floods have been greatly alleviated. Supplies of food and water have not been interrupted.

Veselin Djuranovic and others then toured Karadjordjeva Street and Vojvoda Misica Boulevard, which have been flooded for several days. They were informed of work to protect the bank of the Sava River. The group of federal and republican officials then visited a textile mill en route to Obrenovac and attended a brief meeting in the Obrenovac communal assembly offices, where they were informed about the situation in the area. Djuranovic praised the work of civil and territorial defense.

Veselin Djuranovic, Dragoljub Stavrev, Veljko Markovic, Ivan Stambolic and Zivorad Kovacevic then left by helicopter for Smederevo.

Djuranovic Statement

AU281831 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Statement by Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, in Smederevo on 28 March--recorded]

[Text] I believe that the extent of flooding in a large part of Serbia and a part of Vojvodina is really very large. I believe that the extent of flooding--when seen on the sport, as we saw in Belgrade, Obrenovac and here in Smederevo--is really much larger, particularly when we bear in mind the fact that the highest ever water level of the Danube and Sava rivers tells by itself about the extent of flooding. However, we also bear in mind everything that is happening in the flooded terriroty. I bear in mind (?the number) of flooded houses, the number of threatened houses, the number of evacuated households, the size of the flooded agricultural area and a number of work organizations which, because of the floods, will not be able to ensure regular production for a certain period.

All in all, it appears to me that the extent of flooding is very large. What is most important to stress at this moment, in my view, is that an exceptionally well-organized defense from floods has already ensured that which is most important, that is, that no human lives were lost, that all families were brought to safety and that they are being well provided for, that accomodation has been found for them and that great care has been taken of them. It appears to me that this is the most important fact to be stressed now.

Another thing that I believe is very important is that the entire system of civil defense, the entire system of territorial defense has demonstrated that the concept of civil and territorial defense is extraordinarily good and well applied. I believe that this was the best opportunity in which the system of civil defense and territorial defense passed its test. I would say that in this misfortune, in these troubles, we tested a system which should always, how to put it, function well just as it has functioned in the current situation.

Also on this occasion it was demonstrated that the army is that force, that factor, which contributes most.

However, it appears to me that the present floods in Serbia have confirmed that we must increasingly count more and more precisely on this system of civil defense and territorial defense.

What impresses one is the realization--both in Belgrade, Obrenovac and here--that the system of civil defense proceeds primarily from the mobilization of one's own forces, one's own resources. And it is only after being unable to resolve problems with one's own forces that this system then expects a demonstration of solidarity and assistance. I believe that this is, I would say, a new quality of (?the system).

In Belgrade, Obrenovac and here, all comrades stressed that the young people played an important role, both in the level of involvement and the level of responsibility, as well as in the level of organization. I believe that this also is a very important fact that should be stressed.

The moment is now certainly such that continued care has to be taken, that the state of readiness must continue because dangers have not passed. The forecasts of new waves of floods are warnings which must be taken into account. The state of the defense's readiness, organization and responsibility with regard to any possible further natural disasters must not cease even for a moment.

As far as damage is concerned, I believe that it is rather too early now to speak about this. The need to examine the damage caused is still ahead. Damage is certainly great; there are some specific kinds of damage. Involved are certain city areas where damage cannot be easily perceived, particularly when various systems that exist in the functioning of city life are involved.

I would particularly like to stress that we face new tasks in connection with implementing the spring sowing program, because the large areas of flooded land point to the need to review the programs of fall [word indistinct] and spring sowing in these areas. There are areas where water will recede soon, but where underground water will prevent sowing. The sowing is some 20 or more days behind schedule. It is obvious that the committees and staffs working on the spring sowing must now take a look at what the new tasks and new obligations connected with implementing this task are. I want to stress this precisely now because we described spring sowing as one of the most important tasks in the struggle for economic stabilization this year, and for this reason there is a greater need to perceive this problem in the newly arisen situation.

I believe that tribute should be paid to all people who constantly keep watch and are keeping watch over protection. I believe that great tribute should be paid to the civil defense staffs, to leaders in the communes and cities. I believe that all this has functioned in a really praiseworthy manner, and that a great test was passed in a very complex situation.

KOSOVO LEAGUE PRESIDIUM VIEWS CADRE POLICY

AU271958 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] At a session chaired by Mahmut Bakali in Pristina today, the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo discussed current tasks of the League of Communists of Kosovo in socializing cadre policy and implementing its leading ideopolitical role in this field under the conditions of further implementing Comrade Tito's initiative on collective work, responsibility and decisionmaking.

The Presidium also discussed the immediate tasks of the League of Communists of Kosovo in implementing the conclusions of the last session of the LCY Central Committee on all-people's defense and social self-protection. In the introductory speech and the discussion it was stressed that it was indispensable in every circle, on the basis of a critical analysis of the situation, to draw up specific programs of activities on further preparing for all-people's defense and social self-protection.

PANEL DISCUSSION ON CREDITS TO INCREASE EXPORTS

AU281842 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Aleksandar Vlajkovic interview with Toma Granfil, president of the Yugoslav Bank for International Economic Cooperation; Filmi Pitic, member of the managing board of the Energoinvest enterprise of Sarajevo; and Sergije Lukes, deputy president of the managing board of the Treci Maj shipyards of Rijeka--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Vlajkovic] Good evening, dear listeners. The results achieved in foreign trade at the beginning of the year are not exactly the best. A considerably reduced export of capital goods--equipment, ships, technology and construction of capital projects abroad--has certainly contributed to this. Thus, for instance, while this kind of export amounted to a fifth of the overall exports in 1979, last year it was reduced to 15 percent. This trend has continued this year. These kinds of exports cannot be imagined, either in our country or abroad, without a strong credit support. In our country, funds for granting credits are concentrated in the Yugoslav Bank for International Economic Cooperation.

Comrade Granfil, what are the chances of supporting more resolutely the exports of equipment and ships with credits this year and next?

[Granfil] As far as this year is concerned, the plan is based strictly on the contracts concluded as early as last year. Perhaps there will be more equipment export contracts concluded during the current year. But everything is firmly concluded, and on the basis of what has been concluded the bank has approved the sum of 9 billion dinars to finance exports. Most of this export goes to the developing countries, but also to East and West European countries. I believe it is important to provide funds for this year, and particularly important to ensure funds for the lasting financing of exports during the entire 5-year period.

Now, what is involved? All agreements that we will conclude now will be for the 1982-1985 period. The sum of $1.4 billion has already been approved for this entire 5-year plan period, that is, from 1981-1985.

[Vlajkovic] When the question of granting credits for exports is involved, one mainly bears in mind the developing countries.

[Granfil] Yes, the developing countries and for several reasons. First, the developing countries, except for two or three of the richest oil exporting countries, must buy equipment and technology on the basis of credit concessions. For this reason the expansion of our cooperation with the developing countries--the development of cooperation with numerous countries throughout the world, something that suits both the political and economic needs of Yugoslavia as a whole and our work organizations--calls for exports with credit concessions. It was precisely this kind of export, we must regretably note, that stagnated, even declined somewhat last year and in the first months of this year. This happened precisely because of these problems connected with granting credits. For this reason our overall position in the developing countries, which is one of the vital factors of our overall economic relations with the world, calls for an urgent solution of the problem of funds and organization of trade.

[Vlajkovic] Please tell us, what funds must we provide for the current medium-term period?

[Granfil] For the current medium-term period we must ensure 110 billion dinars, according to the plan prepared by our members who worked very conscientiously. This sum was set against the country's overall possibilities and proportions that are envisaged by Yugoslavia's recently adopted social plan. This plan provides that the export of equipment, as the most qualitative part of our exports of goods, should mark a real increase of at least 10 percent per year. This is vital for the success of the entirety of our exports.

[Vlajkovic] Comrade Pitic, sales on foreign markets are a very important item in the overall production of the Energoinvest enterprise; exports are your constant orientation. What are your export plans for this year and for the current medium-term period?

[Pitic] In 1980, the Energoinvest enterprise exported equipment, semifinished goods and complete projects worth $400 million. In 1981, it is planned that exports will be worth $600 million. In 1985, we want to achieve exports--and these are quite realistic plans--worth at least $1 billion.

[Vlajkovic] To which markets do you export?

[Pitic] We export to those in Asia, Africa, North America, Mexico and particularly to the European countries and East Europe, including the USSR.

[Vlajkovic] We know that you predominantly sell abroad for cash. Had there been more credit facilities, then exports would surely have been larger.

[Pitic] Certainly, our exports would have been more widely spread and more countries involved. A particular problem is the developing countries which are not rich in money. We export a great deal to the developing countries, but such countries as Libya and Iraq pay in cash. However, we must spread our activity into a number of countries of black Africa, all the way to Zimbabwe. One cannot export to these countries without granting very favorable credits.

[Vlajkovic] Comrade Lukes, in the current medium-term period your shipyard has very ambitious export plans.

[Lukes] After passing several years in a distinctly complex world situation, agreements worth some $350 million were concluded at the end of 1979 for the period until 1983. In 1981, we must deliver 5 ships worth $100 million. Accordingly, in the period until 1985, we must conclude contracts for ships for 1984 to be delivered in 1984 and 1985.

If we sum up all the contracts that we have concluded, the contracts to be concluded and on which negotiations are already being held and the orders for our domestic fleet, then their value in the period to 1985 would be over $1 billion.

[Vlajkovic] Naturally, you will also build ships which should otherwise be bought abroad.

[Lukes] The shipbuilding industry is important for every country, and thus also for us, because it provides ships for our own fleet. Our plan for the period until 1985 contains a program to build 56 ships for our domestic shipping companies. This is a very modest plan. It is, in fact, imperative for us to maintain our present fleet. It is well known that our fleet is to a great extent amortized. We have a large percentage of ships that are over 15 years old.

[Vlajkovic] How much money would be needed if these ships were bought abroad?

[Lukes] If we were to buy these ships abroad then we would need to allocate over $1.5 billion, certainly a great burden for our foreign exchange fund and for the country as a whole.

[Vlajkovic] How do you feel about a shortage of funds for granting credits for the export of your ships?

[Lukes] As far as the granting of credits is involved, thanks to our cooperation with the Yugoslav bank [not further identified], we can say that all contracted transactions have been resolved as far as the granting of credits is concerned. However, we must distinguish between two kinds of credits: those granted for the sale of ships and those granted for the production of ships.